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Front Cover: Confederate Monument Fairfax Cemetery. Photo by R. L. Thompson 1986

Back Cover: Prayer by an Unknown Confederate Soldier, courtesy R. L. Thompson

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*HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS* and *AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE*

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**In Memoriam**

**Reverend Melvin Lee Steadman, Jr.**  
1932-1987



# **The Scotts of Farmington:**

## **A Site Interpretation**

by

Martha Williams

*Mrs. Williams teaches History at  
George C. Marshall High School.*

Virtually every summer, since 1973, the Fairfax County Public Schools has sponsored a summer seminar in historical archaeology\* for high school students. Over the years, high school crews have put in literally thousands of hours of field work on such well-known county sites as Belvoir, Sully, Walney, the Dulin site in Falls Church, and LaGrange, near Pohick Church. During those years, the course instructors have introduced their students to the documentary background about each of those sites and their residents, albeit only in the confines of the classroom.

However, in 1986, the archival phase of the course was expanded to include a "hands-on" experience working with the court records, as well as the more customary field activity. As a result, students in last year's session got a far better feel for what "research" really means, and the session produced a far clearer picture of one interesting and locally prominent nineteenth century Fairfax family—the Scotts of Bush Hill and Farmington.

The grave markers on the Farmington property near Centreville gave us our initial leads. Here were buried two generations of this family: a father and mother, two brothers and their wives, a daughter, and one as yet unidentified female. By far the most impressive of the markers was that of Richard Marshall Scott of Bush Hill, "who departed this life at Bath on the 31st of August 1833, in the 63rd year of his age. He left an affectionate wife and two sons to whom he was endeared by his affections. His remains dear and sacred to his family were translated from Bath to this place." Unraveling the story of this Fairfax Countian, his relatives, and the Farmington property, became the objective of the summer's work.

From an archaeological perspective, the Farmington excavations yielded disappointingly little. Besides the gravestones, so neatly arranged



Photo by Martha Williams

*Marshall High School students Eileen Lintz and Joon Park excavate the second level of a trash pit found on the Farmington site.*

on the crest of a hill overlooking Cub Run, little remained to indicate the nature of the complex which had once stood in that location. A cellar hole, filled with primarily twentieth century debris, comprised the major visible feature on the site. Despite careful excavation of five sizeable test pits, little was found to suggest what the above-ground structures had looked like. Other features, including what may have been a fairly substantial outbuilding and two trash pits, were also located and partially excavated. But at the end of the project, it was still unclear just what the extent or appearance of the farm had been in the nineteenth century.

Some of the artifacts unearthed did present tantalizing clues as to the possible age of the site. For example, a few fragments of pre-Revolutionary imported ceramics, such as delftware, and distinctive English and German stonewares, hinted at a mid-eighteenth century occupation of the property. Far more plentiful were those later ceramics, such as pearlwares and ironstone, typical of the pre-Civil War nineteenth century. Sadly, the artifact collection had been badly "contaminated" by large quantities of modern trash, including everything from bathroom tiles to miniature plastic toys. Such a mixture could tell the researcher only that the possible occupation and use of this area had spanned nearly two centuries.

One important observation about the earlier ceramic distributions, however, led to a question which was ultimately resolved by our "digging"

in the Circuit Court Archives. None of the ceramic pieces found matched sufficiently to produce what a contemporary interior decorator would term a “set”. Nor were there any of those beautifully hand-painted Chinese porcelains which graced so many fashionable late eighteenth and early nineteenth century dining tables, such as those at Richard Bland Lee’s Sully Plantation, located only a mile away. No, this was a decidedly middle-class collection. Yet, Scott’s grave marker, with its references to other properties, seemed to bespeak something more than simply “middle class”.

Why this discrepancy? The archival records, which included deeds, wills, and a lengthy chancery case, finally helped to clarify the puzzle.

From these records, we discovered that Farmington was one of several landholdings first opened up to intensive agriculture in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Much of this western Fairfax land had been patented nearly fifty years before, when families like the Eskridges, Lees, Carters, Awbreys, and Newtons had first carved out investment properties for themselves and their (generally) younger heirs.<sup>1</sup> However, apparently little attempt was made to actively develop these western Fairfax County properties until after the Revolutionary War. Some sources have maintained that these early land grants—for example, Sully Plantation, patented in 1724—were “seated” with “quarters”<sup>2</sup>, but to date almost no archaeological evidence of such early occupation has appeared, despite intensive archaeological work on both the Sully and Walney properties over the years.

Farmington was probably inhabited sometime before its primary owner, Richard Marshall Scott, acquired the property in 1791; that this may have been the case is supported by the sequence of events which can be deduced from various depositions given in a chancery court case nearly fifty years later.<sup>3</sup> The testimony presented there wove an intriguing story about one Fairfax family’s rather checkered career.

Richard Marshall Scott’s father, John, had emigrated to the colonies from Scotland in 1753, settling in Charles County, Maryland, near Allen’s Fresh. He established himself as a dry goods merchant, using his inheritance for capital; he also evidently rented a farm from a Hoskins Hanson. In 1759, he apparently went bankrupt, “being a man of easy temper, and perfectly unsuspecting and credulous . . . He was greatly imposed upon.”<sup>4</sup> He returned to Scotland to seek help from friends and family, assistance which was not forthcoming. During his absence, his wife, Mary Marshall, and her mother, continued to reside in Maryland, and managed to acquire five slaves. On his return to America, Scott moved his

\*A philosophical difference exists between historic and prehistoric arch(a)eologists concerning the spelling of the word arch(a)eology. In this paper the “a” is retained; in Mr. Johnson’s paper the “a” is dropped.

family across the Potomac River to Fairfax County, and there became a tenant farmer on land owned by Alexander Henderson near Colchester.<sup>5</sup>

At this time, the Scott family consisted of two sons, Richard Marshall and David Wilson, and a daughter, Anna. What the sons engaged in as they grew older is somewhat vague. Some sources have reported that Richard Marshall had become a lawyer. Nevertheless, he must have been associating with some rather prominent people, for, in 1789, he was nominated by George Washington to the post of Deputy to the Naval Officer of Customs for the South Potomac District, then located at the port of Dumfries in Prince William County.<sup>6</sup> Brother David appears to have gone into some sort of merchandising in Alexandria.

The father John seems never to have recovered from his bankruptcy, for in 1785, there was apparently a letter from Richard which indicated that the son "considered him (John) in need of assistance." Thus, it is understandable that when Richard acquired the Farmington property in 1791, he immediately settled his father, mother, and sister there, along with five slaves. This rather hasty relocation of the family would appear to indicate that there was probably some sort of residence on the property at that time.

In 1792, John Scott died at age 67, "after an illness of only one Hour from perfect Health," according to the inscription on his gravestone at Farmington; his wife, Mary, followed him four years later. These two deaths left Richard's sister, Anna, as the sole tenant on the property, (which had been considerably augmented through several purchases made by Richard from Charles Love and others<sup>7</sup>), presumably along with the five slaves. In 1802, she was joined by a cousin, Mary Marshall (later Mary Fobel).<sup>7a</sup> Anna, described in later years as "very small and somewhat deformed", managed the Farmington property for her brother. She had ten or twelve slaves.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, David Wilson Scott was encountering financial difficulty. Despite the fact that he had been appointed as Richard's successor in the Customs job in 1795,<sup>9</sup> it appears that his mercantile enterprise had not been going well. Over the years, his brother, now owner of two estates, was forced to cosign several notes for him. The financial difficulty resulted in David's applying "for the benefit of the insolvent laws of the District of Columbia . . . and . . . was discharged under it from imprisonment" in May of 1807.<sup>10</sup> Shortly thereafter, Richard moved David and his wife out to Farmington, and in 1812, David agreed to pay his brother \$666.66 annual rent for the property.<sup>11</sup> This arrangement left four members of the Scott family residing on the Farmington tract: David; his wife Elizabeth; their daughter Mary; and Richard's sister Anna; Mary Fobel moved away at that time.<sup>12</sup> David apparently assumed the role of manager for the property—a task he fulfilled none too successfully, if depositions are to be believed. One deponent testified that "Mr. R. M. Scott was always

Richmond in 1812, expiring "in the arms of her husband." Her remains "were translated from Richmond to this spot, the family burying ground" at Farmington. In 1812, Jane Ward, as yet unidentified, was also buried in the plot; her headstone is of a very different material and style from the others in the cemetery. Further tragedy struck in 1821 when Richard's sister Anna died; her stone was added to those of the others. David Wilson Scott followed his sister in 1827; Richard's second wife, Eleanor Douglas, mother of his first child and namesake, became the seventh occupant of the family plot on the hill in 1830.

At David's death, Richard Marshall Scott extended the lease terms already in force to his sister-in-law, Elizabeth, now a widow, and appointed John Frobel (son of his cousin Mary who had once lived at Farmington) to manage the property.<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth took advantage of this kindness until 1831. Giving testimony in the later court case, she left us a description of the property at that time: nine slaves, six horses, twenty head of cattle, fifty sheep, over seventy hogs, fields of corn, wheat, rye, oats, a horse cart, an ox cart, ploughs, harroes (sic), hoes, axes, and household and kitchen furniture.<sup>17</sup>

Richard married once again, this time to Lucinda Fitzhugh. In 1833, he died at the age of 63, leaving two sons. The older of the two, his namesake, was willed the estate of Bush Hill, while his infant son, Jonathan Mordecai, was ultimately to get the Farmington property. Until the younger son reached the age of twenty-one, Scott's sister-in-law was to have tenant rights at the farm, and an annual pension of \$150. In the event that Jonathan Mordecai did not survive until the age of twenty-one, Scott's niece, Mary Foote, was to inherit the land. Scott's extensive will helped to verify the authenticity of the family plot at Farmington, since he specifically mentioned that he wished to be buried there, between his first two wives, and near his father, mother, brother, and sister.<sup>18</sup>

The chancery battle, which was waged in the Fairfax courts between 1838 and 1842 in a series of suits and countersuits, did not directly involve the disposition of the land at Farmington; no one apparently challenged Richard's will on that point. Rather, the case concerned the allocation of several slaves, arguments focusing on which of them had commonly been deemed to have been David Wilson Scott's property (and hence a part of the inheritance of his daughter, Mary Foote), and which of them had belonged to Richard Marshall Scott himself, thus becoming part of the Farmington estate, and thereby the property of his second son.

The subsequent history of the Farmington property has not, at this writing, been totally unraveled. We know that the 600-acre tract remained in the Scott family, and Elizabeth, David's widow, became the last Scott to be buried in the family plot in 1848. The last direct reference thus far found to "Farmington", calling the property by its original name, occurred in an 1868 deed of trust between John M. (Jonathan Mordecai?) and Mary M. Scott, and A. N. Yerby to secure a debt of \$1000 owed to Richard Littleton.



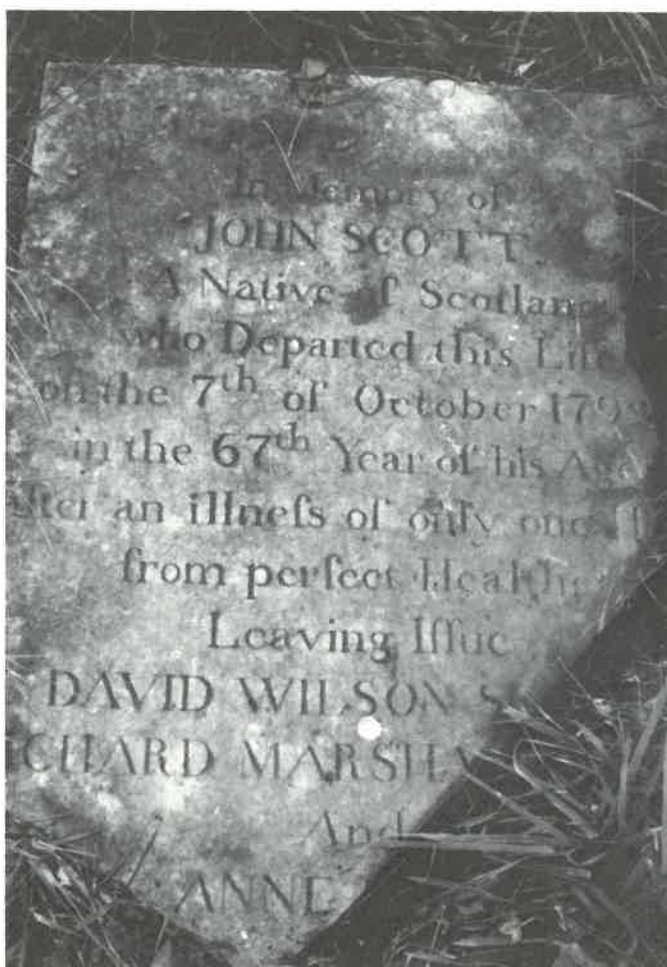


Photo by Martha Williams

*Grave marker at Farmington "In memory of John Scott, A Native of Scotland" denotes the final resting place of the father of David, Richard, and Anne Scott.*

considered a very good manager, and his brother David rather the reverse."<sup>13</sup>

During this period, Richard Marshall Scott was prospering. Fairfax County deed records shows him to have been heavily involved in real estate transactions, listing more than a dozen property acquisitions.<sup>14</sup> His principal residence was at Bush Hill, near Alexandria, but he also owned several properties in town, as well as substantial stock in the Farmer's Bank of Alexandria.<sup>15</sup> And, we learned from his first wife's grave marker, that he served as Fairfax County's delegate to the General Assembly around 1812.

His personal life, however, seems to have been less fortunate; the family cemetery was getting full. His first wife, Mary, died in a theatre fire in

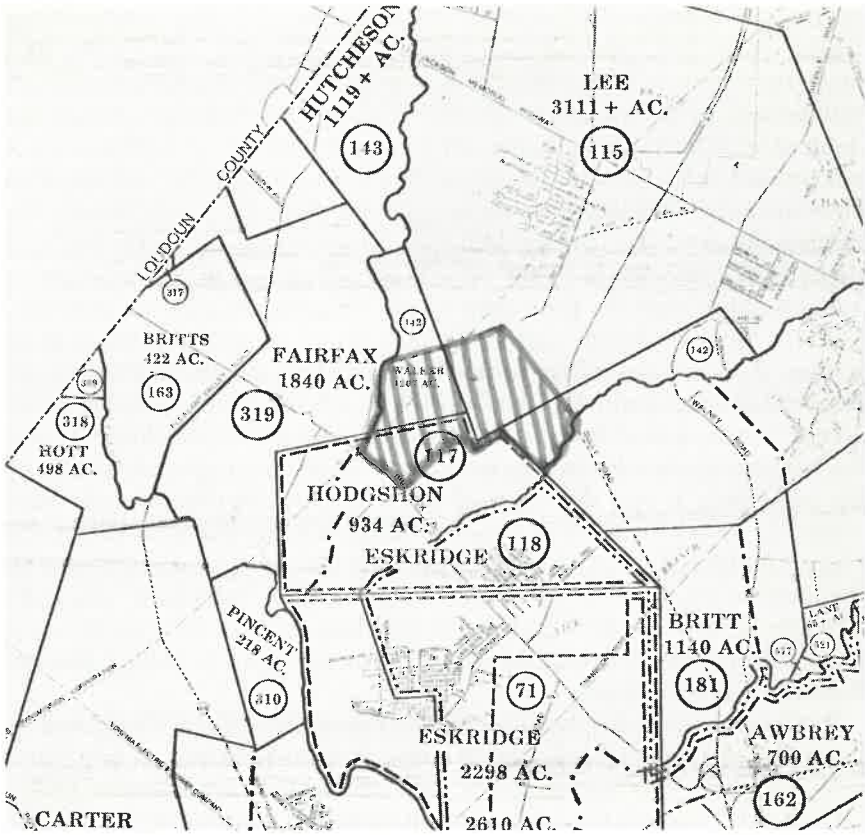
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Shaded area shows Farmington superimposed on map from *Beginning at a White Oak* by Beth Mitchell, 1977. Information from Fairfax Deed Book C7:615.

Apparently, the debt in question, for which Farmington served as collateral, had been contracted by Scott and his mother, Lucinda (Fitzhugh Scott) Henry, who had remarried in 1845 and was now residing in Fauquier County.<sup>19</sup>

Although John M. Scott continued to own the property, his name does not appear on maps of this mid-nineteenth century period. For example, Civil War era maps, usually fairly accurate for Fairfax County, show no structure or property owner's name in the location of the house. Furthermore, no further references in the deed books can be found either to John M. Scott or to A. N. Yerby. By 1879, however, G. M. Hopkins's *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington*, locates a "Jac. Fox" on the property.<sup>20</sup> This gap in the map records may indicate a mid-nineteenth century demolition of the house, perhaps due to Civil War activity so common in the western Fairfax area.

A check of the deed books of the 1870s uncovered references to a "Jacob Fox", who apparently was renting a "messuage and tenement lying in the



counties of Fairfax and Loudoun” for \$500 per year. Fox was growing wheat, corn, oats, and hay, as well as raising horses and cattle. The property owner, to whom Jacob Fox was in arrears for his rent, was Jacob Williamson, of Rockingham County.<sup>21</sup> Fox appears to have satisfied the debt, at least for the time being, for further references to Williamson are not present in the record. However, Jacob Fox apparently continued to have financial difficulty, since he acquired another thirty-acre tract in the Centreville area, the “Barnes Mill lot”, which he subsequently lost to a Richard M. Summers in 1896.<sup>22</sup>

Farmington seems to have been a most unfortunate piece of property, both for the Scott family and for its subsequent owners. For much of its history, it served as a refuge for all of those family members who were in financial distress (and who, like David Wilson Scott, could probably never afford to own sets of fine pearlwares or expensive Canton china). It was the last resting place for two generations of Scotts. Even after the deaths of the principals, it was the focus of often vicious litigation among those whom its owner intended to benefit—Richard’s son, his sister-in-law, his niece, and his wife. And even after the tract ceased to be associated with the Scott name, it remained a somewhat mournful, “hard-luck” place. Its ultimate demise showed, not in the archives, but in the ground—as a repository for the material discards of some unknown twentieth century Fairfax County citizens.

But brighter days are ahead for the old Farmington place. The Henry A. Long Development Corporation is converting the land into an office and research park, convention center, and residential development called “Westfields”, leaving the house site and cemetery undisturbed on the hill. Astute businessman that he was, Richard Marshall Scott would no doubt have been pleased.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>. Beth Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak . . . Patents and Northern Neck Grants of Fairfax County, Virginia* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1977), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup>. Robert Gamble, *Sully, the Biography of a House* (Chantilly, Va.: The Sully Foundation, Ltd., 1973), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>. Fairfax County (Virginia) Chancery Cause, *Scott's exx. vs. Scott's admr.*, Deposition of Lucinda Scott, CFF #88a (1838).

<sup>4</sup>. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>. Michael Ingrisano (Historian, U. S. Customs Service), telephone interview, 8 April, 1987.

<sup>7</sup>. Fairfax County (Virginia) Deeds, Book E-2, pp. 50, 69, 71. (Hereinafter cited as Deeds)

- <sup>7a</sup>. John J. Frobels married Mary S. Marshall January 27, 1809. *Alexandria Gazette*, Jan. 28, 1809.
- <sup>8</sup>. *Scott's exx. vs. Scott's admr.*, Deposition of Mary Frobels, 1839.
- <sup>9</sup>. Ingrisano, interview.
- <sup>10</sup>. *Scott's exx. vs. Scott's admr.*, Deposition of Lucinda Scott, 1838.
- <sup>11</sup>. Deeds, Book M-2, pp. 206-7.
- <sup>12</sup>. *Scott's exx. vs. Scott's admr.*, Deposition of Mary Frobels, 1839.
- <sup>13</sup>. *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup>. Fairfax County (Virginia) General Index to Deeds, Book 2 (1797-1841), pp. 351-2.
- <sup>15</sup>. Fairfax County (Virginia) Superior Court Will Book, pp. 79-84. Will of Richard Marshall Scott.
- <sup>16</sup>. Agreement between R. M. Scott and John M. Frobels, 1831 (Unrecorded, Circuit Court Archives).
- <sup>17</sup>. *Scott's exx. vs. Scott's admr.*, Deposition of Elizabeth Scott, 1842.
- <sup>18</sup>. Fairfax County (Virginia) Superior Court Will Book, pp.79-84. Will of Richard Marshall Scott.
- <sup>19</sup>. Deeds, Book J-4, p. 148.
- <sup>20</sup>. G. M. Hopkins, "Centreville District," *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington*, in Richard Stephenson, *The Cartography of Northern Virginia: 1607-1915* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1981), p. 89.
- <sup>21</sup>. Deeds, Book R-4, pp. 82-84.
- <sup>22</sup>. Deeds, Book W-5, p. 181.

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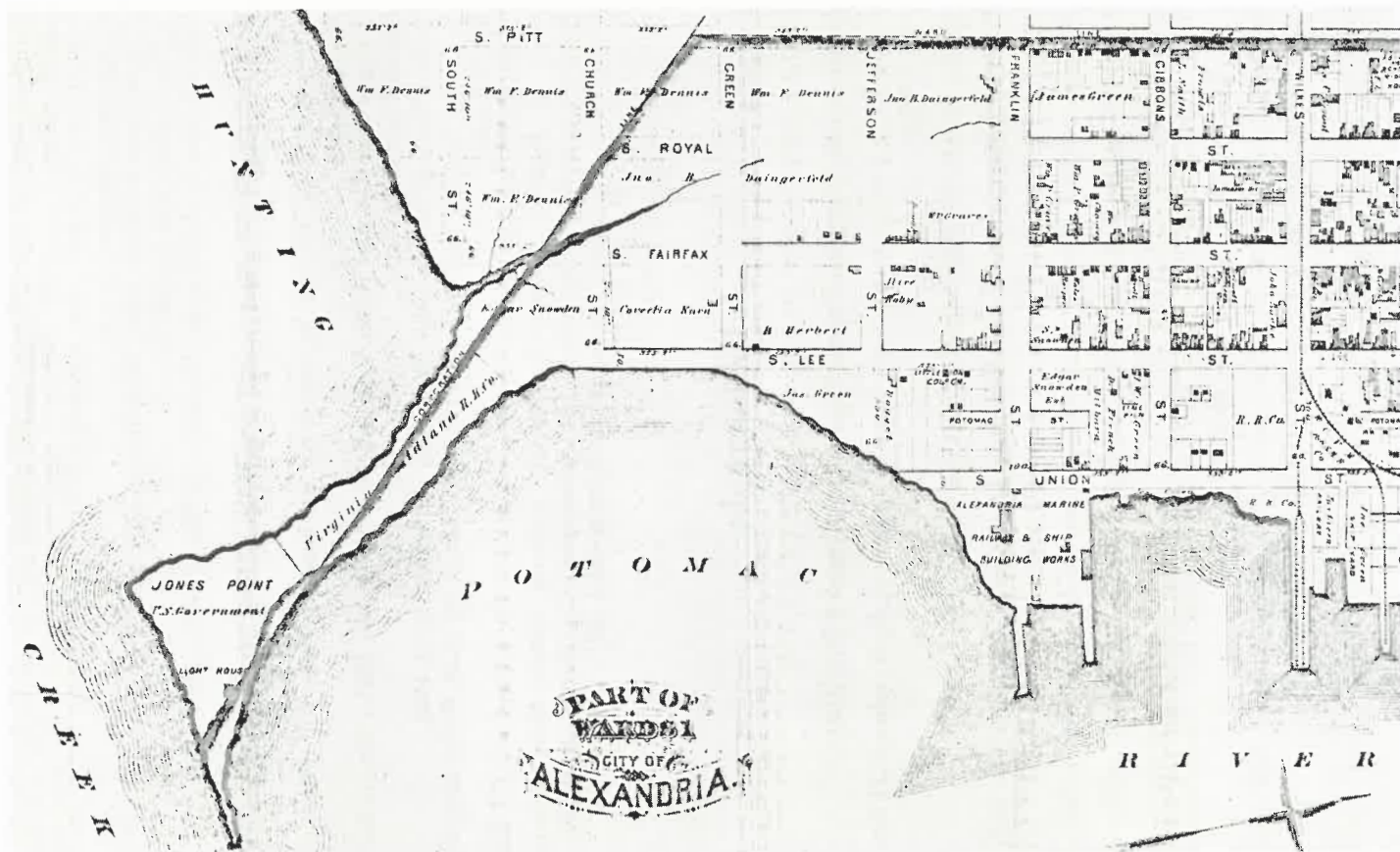


Plate four of twelve from G. M. Hopkins' 1877 City Atlas of Alexandria.

## **Jones Point: Haven of History**

by  
T. Michael Miller

*Mr. Miller is a historian on the staff of the Lloyd House, Alexandria Library.*

Jones Point, a tract containing about 40 acres of land, lies on a peninsula about one mile southeast of the old seaport town of Alexandria, Virginia. It was the southern corner of the ten-mile-square which became the District of Columbia in 1801. Originally, the point contained not more than six acres and was a portion of a 700 acre patent granted to Margaret Brent in 1654. Brent, (1601-1676), was a close friend of Leonard Calvert and a leading politician and lawyer of the day. She was also the first woman to officially hold land in Maryland and owned estates on Kent Island and at St. Mary's City. After a series of political disputes and the Maryland Assembly's failure to grant her the right to vote, she settled on an estate called "Peace" on the North side of Aquia Creek where it enters the Potomac river.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile on September 6, 1654, Brent had been granted 700 acres of land on Hunting Creek for transporting 14 persons into the colony. This grant encompassed the site of Jones Point and parts of Alexandria. It started at Hunting Creek and extended northward as far as current Queen street. To insure her possession of this territory Mistress Brent repatented her tract in November 1662.

In 1669, Robert Howsing, a mariner, was issued a patent containing 6,000 acres which overlapped the Brent parcel. This grant extended from Hunting Creek north to the present site of Rosslyn. One month later, Howsing transferred his patent to John Alexander, a Stafford County planter, in October 1669, for 6,000 pounds of crop tobacco. Alexander did not realize that his purchase included land which had been patented by Margaret Brent. Thus, he was forced to pay for the property twice in order to gain clear title to it.

The area now known as Jones Point was a wilderness utilized by the Doeg Indians for hunting and fishing purposes. Arrow heads and other

relics from this era have been found there.<sup>2</sup> As civilization crept northward from Stafford county, it was necessary for John Alexander and his heirs to seat his patent. This required that a portion of his land be cultivated. To do this, planters in the civilized sections of the country would send up an overseer and crews of negroes to denude the wilderness and plant tobacco. Land was so plentiful and cheap that as it became infertile, planters would purchase additional tracts and the process would be repeated anew.<sup>3</sup>

By 1676, the Indian power in the region had been broken and settlers began to cross the Great Hunting Creek. Some of the early inhabitants were no doubt squatters while others were tenants of the Alexander family. Thomas Pearson, son-in-law of Philip Alexander, leased a section of the land above Hunting Creek in February 1696, and began to clear away the primeval forest.<sup>4</sup> It is also reported that a man named Piper occupied the southern end of the patent at Jones Point. No doubt, Piper was probably a tenant of Philip Alexander whose quarters were situated nearby.<sup>5</sup>

According to other sources, Cadwallader Jones, supposedly, established an Indian trading post on the peninsula circa 1699 and the point was named after him. Jones, an Indian trader and map maker, led an illustrious and highly adventurous life. For a time, he resided at his Stafford plantation called "Rich Neck" but by 1686/87, he had overextended himself financially and set out for England to recoup his losses. There he secured the assistance of a relative, John Jeffries, an alderman of London, and was appointed the governor of the Bahama Islands in 1684. He served in this capacity for four years but was forced to leave because of his "arbitrary - tyrannical exercise of power" and particularly his intimate association with pirates.<sup>6</sup> Jones returned to Virginia in 1698, where he continued his exploration activities until his death in 1700.

The aforesaid chronicle of Jones is extremely intriguing, but there is no primary evidence to link him to the geographic area now called Jones Point. He had purchased 14,000 acres of land adjacent to Wm. Fitzhugh at Ravensworth in 1672.<sup>7</sup> But tradition aside, it is doubtful if Jones Point was named for him. More likely it was named for Charles Jones, a tenant of the Alexander family who cultivated corn, oats, flax and tobacco there in the 1760s.<sup>8</sup>

Although it is debatable how Jones Point received its appellation, it is known that Hugh West had established tobacco warehouses on the Potomac River north of Hunting creek by 1732. The warehouses were the early genesis of the town of Alexandria, founded in 1749. John Carlyle, John Dalton, John Pagan and other Scottish factors were engaged in the lucrative tobacco trade which became the lifeblood of Virginia's 18th century economy. "The riverside from Pearsons (Dangerfield's) to Pipers Island (Jones Point) was well cultivated and clear of forest for half a mile back."<sup>9</sup>

A graphic portrait of Jones Point in 1730 has been left to posterity by the Reverend Lee Massey, a former rector of Christ Church. In a chancery case in Prince William county in the 1780's, he offered the following testimony regarding the topography of the point:<sup>10</sup>

Q. Was Jones's Point, otherwise Piper's Point, ever an Island?

A. In high tides the water followed around it and in low tides it did not.

Q. What do you mean by high tides?

A. I do not mean spring tides but common high tides.

Q. Was there any firm land on the Point over which the high tides did not flow?

A. There was about ten acres when I first saw it.

Q. What divided the firm land on the point from the main land?

A. A wet pocoson grown with yellow, small ash.

Q. Were there any guts that surrounded the land of the Point?

A. There was one that emptied into the waters westward of the Point, which run northwardly a considerable distance, then took a turn eastwardly and emptied into a pocoson.

Q. What sort of gut was that?

A. A deep one, and they used to catch fish there by making a hedge across at the mouth of it to catch herrings at the time. Fish might be caught in every little gut that emptied into the river.

Q. How wide was the pocoson from the easterly termination of the gut to the river in an easterly tide?

A. I cannot pretend to say with precision how wide it was, but I suppose it to have been as wide as the dry land on the upper part of the Point adjoining.

Q. How wide was the pocoson that the people used in crossing from the main to the dry part of the Point?

A. They crossed generally along the river side, and I do not know of them anywhere else. The main land is about forty yards from the dry part of the Point.

Q. Did people cross the pocoson on horseback?

A. I do not recollect that they did, but I do not doubt of their crossing on horseback as they tended a cross on the Point.

Q. Did carriages ever cross there?

A. I do not recollect that they did, but suppose they rather could not in the state it was in at that time I am speaking of.

Q. How long is it since the main adjoining what is called the pocoson was cleared?

A. It was an old field clear of stumps when I first knew it upwards of forty-two years ago, (1743) . . . The run or branch next to Alexandria was called White Oak Swamp from the head of the branch to tide water, and then it was called Harris Gut . . . The pocoson between the high land next to the town and the firm land on the Point was not more wet than the pocoson in general on the river side.



From Massey's testimony, it is apparent that Jones Point remained a rural setting and was basically utilized for agricultural purposes until the middle of the 18th century. With the advent of the American Revolution, noticeable changes may have taken place there.

The pastoral calm of the landscape at Jones Point was visibly interrupted during the epoch of the 1770's. As revolution spread through the colonies, Alexandria became a focal point of the political upheaval. Its citizens led by George Mason and George Washington met in Alexandria at the county courthouse in July 1774 and drafted the Fairfax Resolves which expressed the citizenry's disapproval of the British Parliament's actions against the town of Boston. Fueled by economic and political discontent, war erupted between England and her colonies in April 1775.

Virginia joined the fray and several regiments were mustered into the Continental Army. Alexandrians named Hawkins, Dade, Arell, West, Ramsay & Carlyle participated in the siege of Boston in 1776 and spent many a frigid night at Valley Forge. James Hendricks, an Alexandrian, led the 6th Virginia regiment against the Hessians at Trenton where the American army gained a glorious victory.<sup>11</sup>

During the war, Alexandria and its surrounding environs became a logistical supply and hospital center for the colonial armies in the field. Many fortunes would be made in the transshipment of grain and wheat and merchant princes would later build beautiful federal townhouses which now line the cobblestone streets. Initially in 1776, many Alexandrians feared reprisal raids by Royal Governor Dunmore who had made sorties up the Potomac River and destroyed William Brent's home at Stafford County. George Mason, noted lawyer and author, and a group of Alexandria and Fairfax county citizens petitioned the Virginia Council to purchase at the "public expense" several cannon for their protection. A copy of that petition appears as follows:

Journal of the Virginia Council of Safety  
(Williamsburg) Saturday, September 7th, 1776

A petition from the Inhabitants of the town of Alexandria setting forth among other things, 'their defenseless condition, tho accessible to Ships of War under forty or fifty Guns only, and praying that they might be permitted to purchase at the public expence sixteen Iron Cannon, vizt ten eighteen pounders and six nine pounders to be mounted on two substantial Batteries which had been lately erected on advantageous situations in that Town, and which were now compleated with proper embrazures for Cannon directly under which the Channel of the river runs, so that no ships can pass at much more than a Quarter of a mile distant; And that they may be also allowed to purchase in the same manner two small Forges for casting the nine pound shott, with a sufficient Quantity of Ordinance Stores . . . 'It is Ordered, That the

Petitioners be accordingly permitted to purchase the Cannon, Forges & Ordinance Stores aforesaid taking care not to exceed thirty five pounds per Tonn, for the Cannon, including the expence of proving the same, and to procure the other Articles as cheap as possible. . . .<sup>12</sup>

It is highly probable that at least one of the two batteries mentioned in the petition was situated at Jones Point. Mary Powell in *The History of Old Alexandria, Virginia* stated that: "At Jones Point an artillery company from the Alexandria Militia was stationed to guard the water battery there, where some of the guns abandoned by Braddock were mounted."<sup>13</sup> With its sweep of the river, Jones Point was strategically important. George Mason later penned John Hancock on October 19, 1776, requesting that the cannon for the fortification be ordered from Messrs. Hughes of Frederick City, Maryland. He wrote:

Virginia, Fairfax County, Octo. 19th: 1776.

SIR

At the Request of the Inhabitants of the Town of Alexandria, I take the Liberty to trouble you with the inclosed Order of the Virginia Council. Understanding that Messrs. Hughes's of Frederick County Maryland (who are the only Persons on this Part of the Continent to be depended on for Cannon) are under Contract with the Congress for all the Cannon their Works can possibly make in a Year, and having no other Means of carrying the above mentioned order of Council into Execution, the Inhabitants of the said Town humbly beg leave, thro' you Sir, to represent their Case to the honorable Congress, & pray for an order to Messrs. Hughes's to furnish them with the Cannon wanted, out of those ingaged for Continental Service: they are unacquainted with the Terms of Messrs. Hughes's Contract; but if the Price is more than L 35. Virga. Curry Ton (the rate our Council have prescribed) they will pay the Difference themselves. If the Congress is pleased to indulge them with such an order, the sooner it can be granted the better; as the fortifieing the said Town will be very advantageous to the Trade of great Part of Virginia & Maryland, and give considerable Encouragement to foreign Adventures, by affording them Protection at a good Port, there they can speedily procure Cargoes of Country. . . .

G. Mason Chairman of Fairfax County Committee<sup>14</sup>

Governor Thomas Jefferson also expressed concern about the safety of shipping in Virginia ports and in a letter to Benjamin Harrison dated November 30, 1780 he wrote:



The executive have had in contemplation the placing 2 or 4 guns at the principal ports within the State to protect shipping which should be lying in there for trade or other purposes from sudden enterprises of privateers or other armed vessels. Portsmouth, Hampton, York, Hobbs Hole and Alexandria were considered as ports which should be thus protected. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Jefferson's fears were well founded. Toward the end of March in 1780, a British privateer sailed up the Potomac and tried to capture a Baltimore ship which was moored in the Alexandria harbor. After a brief skirmish, the British vessel was captured at Boyds Hole.<sup>16</sup> Peter Wagener, Fairfax County clerk, informed Jefferson of the incident and further averred that:

the defenceless situation of the Town of Alexandria induced him to ask the Governor of Maryland if the Alexandrians could borrow some arms and ammunition. His Excellency was pleased to lend us 2 barrels of Gun powder and 2 nine pounders which we got from Annapolis by land. . . . From the determined spirit of the people to defend the Town, I am satisfied that if these Cannon were put into proper order, that we should be able to prevent any of the small vessels doing any damage at Alexandria and as it is proposed to have the Cannon fixed on travelling Carriages, we shall be able to move them to some place of safety if a superior force should come up . . .<sup>17</sup>

Additional defensive measures were taken in May 1781 when a blockhouse and battery were constructed. These actions were ably chronicled in an epistle from James Hendricks to Governor Thomas Jefferson:

Alexandria 7th May 1781

Sir

I had the honour of Your Excellency's letter of 12th. Ult. on the subject of Building a Fort and Blockhouse at this Place and am instructed by the Common Council to inform you that a Considerable part of the work which they conceive necessary towards the Completion of the Battery is already executed, and one Nine and Two Twelve-pounders mounted on travelling Carriages at the expence of a few of the inhabitants who Voluntarily advanced their money for that Service expecting to be reimburs'd by Government, we intended to have a Platform with Plank and to have mounted another Nine pounder but cou'd not carry this design into execution for want of more Cash.

We thank you for your proposal of Sending Colo. Senf to examine our Situation and we have not a doubt but we Shall be

able to furnish the necessary Number of Workmen, Carriages, etc. for to accomplish this design.<sup>18</sup>

Although it is not definitely known where the blockhouse and battery were situated, it is not improbable that they were located at Jones Point.

After the termination of the Revolutionary War, American commerce and shipping once again was imperiled by British and French privateers in the 1790's. To alleviate this threat, a bill was passed by the Third Congress on March 20, 1794, providing for the defence of certain ports under the direction of the President of the United States.<sup>19</sup> After receiving approval from President Washington, Secretary of War Henry Knox, gave specific instructions to John Jacob Rivardi, a military engineer, to have the ports of Baltimore, Norfolk and Alexandria fortified. Initially Alexandria had not been included in the original estimates, but was inserted by the Legislature "to be fortified with works for 12 pieces."<sup>20</sup>

The instructions to Rivardi are significant in that they provide specific insight into how the fortifications were to be constructed. As such, portions of them are worthy of inclusion:

... It will readily be perceived by the lowness of the estimates that the parapets of the works intended to be erected are to be of earth, or where that can not easily be obtained of an adhesive quality, the parapets may be faced with strong timber and filled in with such earth as can be had.

It is, however, conceived that in most cases earth may be procured and that a parapet made thereof will not only form a solid defence, but even be durable, if the earth be tenacious and properly sloped and sodded inside and out and the seed of Knot grass sown so as to bind the sods and earth together.

It is, however, apprehended that the embrasures made in this manner would suffer from the explosion of the powder from the cannon, and that therefore where the batteries are not en barbette that the embrasures ought to be framed with joist and faced with planks of two inches thick—

Where the batteries are to be erected on points of land, Islands or other places at a distance from the towns intended to be defended, they ought to be covered or secured by a redoubt or other enclosed work in which the Garrison should reside constantly either in a Barrack or a Strong Blockhouse, as shall be judged most expedient. But, in general, as the Garrisons will be weak in numbers, a Block-house mounting one or two small pieces of cannon in its upper story, will be more secure, and therefore to be preferred.

The redoubts in general ought to be of a size to contain five hundred men, so as to resist a sudden enterprise of an enemy and perhaps the idea ought to be embraced in the first instance that they should be of such extent as to admit timber casemates to be erected hereafter, so as to enable the Garrison to resist in some tolerable degree a bombardment.

But it is not proposed at present to erect such casemates, excepting for a magazine, which must be formed of massy timber, and be six feet thick on the roof, exclusive of the earth, and jointed and caulked in such a manner as to be perfectly tight. Care must be taken to have these magazines properly ventilated and free from dampness. They are to be of a size sufficient to hold one hundred and fifty rounds of powder for each piece of cannon intended to be served from it. The spot at which a magazine of this nature shall be fixed, will require great judgement so as to combine security against an enemy either open or subtle, or any danger from common accidents.

Your judgment will also direct what parts of your works shall be protected by freezers and what by palisades, or whether your redoubts shall have embrasures or fire en barbette with small cannon. As the redoubts are to cover the batteries they would certainly secure and resist better without embrasures. The batteries are to annoy.

The choice of ground on which the batteries and works are to be erected, with all the combinations and effects depending thereon, will rest upon your judgment, under the directions of the Governor. It has not been intended by anything herein specified, to point out the particular manner in which the works should be executed. Outlines only have been given to serve in regulating the expense, which is limited by the sums before mentioned.

Some person in whose ingenuity and industry confidence can be placed will be appointed at each of the said ports to superintend the actual execution of the works according to your directions. Arrangements will also be made by him or some other person to obtain the necessary workmen, implements, and materials which will be required. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Rivardi penned Governor Light Horse Harry Lee on April 18, 1794, informing him that General Knox had requested him to go "to Alexandria in order to put also the Artillery there in order."<sup>22</sup> Lee in turn addressed a missive to Cols. Fitzgerald and Little at Alexandria on the 19th in which he apprised them of Rivardi's arrival there and implored them to assist him:

in all measures he may adopt for the erection of the works at Alexandria and that you will be so good as to make known to me from time to time the progress thereof with suggestions of any steps within my power to take tending towards the accomplishment of this object. I enclose this day to Major Rivardi a letter introducing him to you which he will deliver upon his arrival.<sup>23</sup>

If Rivardi spent anytime in Alexandria it must have been brief since he reported to Governor Lee that he felt it was more important to defer the trip to Alexandria until the work on the fortification at Norfolk had been finished.<sup>24</sup> There is also a question of Rivardi's competence as an Engineer. President Washington expressed some reservation about him in a letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia:

... I was not unmindful of your communication respecting Maj. Rivardy; but, unluckily, the Secretary of State mistook (as I have lately discovered) the purport of my direction to him on this head. It was, that your employing the Major for the purposes designated, would be perfectly agreeable to me if you were satisfied with his character, and that he had abilities adequate to the undertaking; that he was an entire stranger to me; and that I had rather you should pursue your own judgment in, than be prompted to, a choice by me. He understood these sentiments as applying to the measure (of the utility and indd. necessity of which I had not doubt) and not to the man. Hence the mistake has happened, nor should I have discovered it, had not our late enquiry for Engineers brought to view that nothing had been concluded between you and Majr. Rivardy. The employment as Engineer may occupy him three or four months.

The fortifications at Baltimore, Alexandria and Norfolk were assigned to him that you might be enabled to judge whether under these circumstances it would be best to adhere to the Major, or employ Mr. Vermanet, or any other. Your more perfect knowledge of the business, and of the situation of things than I possess, will direct you better than any advice I could give; for in truth I have little knowledge of characters proper for such Surveying, levelling etc. as the City requires; and besides, I have been unfortunate hitherto in those whom I have been instrumental in bringing forward for the subordinate officers in the city.<sup>25</sup>

As events progressed, it was the French engineer Jean Arthur De Vermonnet who was actually chosen to build the fortifications at Alexandria instead of Maj. Rivardi. Vermonnet had come to this country circa 1776 and offered his services to the Continental Army. Because he didn't speak English well, he expressed a desire to serve in the Northern

Department and was commissioned a captain in the Continental Army.<sup>26</sup> Col. John Fitzgerald, Washington's former aide-de-camp, was given the responsibility of placing the cannon in their proper positions and building a reverberating furnace for hot balls for each battery.<sup>27</sup> Fitzgerald notified Governor Lee on April 29th that he:

was honored by the receipt of (his) letter of the 19th instant respecting the works contemplated for the defense of this place which shall be strictly complied with and due information of the progress shall be regularly transmitted to you.

The engineer (Rivardi) has not yet made his appearance here.<sup>28</sup>

Concrete steps to place fortifications at Jones Point were implemented by President Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox on May 4, 1794, when Vermonnet was given the following instructions:

Alexandria will claim your immediate attention. The President of the United States, who is well acquainted with the River Potomac, conceives that a certain bluff of land, on the Maryland side, near Mr. Digges's (the point formed by the Eastern Branch and the Potomac) would be a proper situation for the fortification to be erected. You will probably be able to obtain maps of the river at Alexandria.

The sum to be expended for the works to defend Alexandria is not to exceed \$3,000 exclusive of the expense of the cannon.<sup>29</sup>

In correspondence directed to Governor Lee and Secretary of War Henry Knox on June 17, 1794, Vermonnet informed them of his initial survey of Jones Point:

#### *To Governor Lee*

Having had the Honour of being appointed by the Department of War to fortify Annapolis and Alexandria, I have taken the liberty of writing to your Excellency to acquaint you that the fund allowed to fortify Alexandria being small, I have chosen Jones' Point for the seat of a good battery, which will protect the place against the enemy by water, and for which I shall do myself the honor of sending you a draft on my return from Annapolis, where I am going, during which time the materials will be collecting as well as making a cross way through a marsh to enable the land carriage for earth, etc.<sup>30</sup>

#### *To Secretary of War Henry Knox*

Since I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 2d ultimo I have visited Jones' point, for which I have dressed a plan of

defence, and of which I shall send you a draught on my return from Annapolis, where, in the meantime, Col. Fitzgerald will be collecting the materials, for which I have remitted him a bill.

I have also taken means for establishing a cross way through a marsh, which will enable the carrying of materials and earth,

The logs, planks, and other timbers, are not to be had in the neighborhood without an enormous price, which has induced us to send to the Bay.<sup>31</sup>

Almost from the beginning, Vermonnet encountered difficulties with the fortifications at Alexandria. Timber was scarce and it had to be imported from elsewhere and to gain access to Jones Point, it was necessary to lay a causeway across the pocosin. Then, Col. Fitzgerald became ill and the project was delayed. A chronology of these problems can be gleaned from the correspondence of Vermonnet with Secretary of War Knox:<sup>32</sup>

Alexandria, July 5, 1794

Sir:

. . . I also take the liberty to forward you a draught of the work that I have begun at Alexandria at Jones' point, according to your order, and which is the only place at this present time to be minded, the difficulty of collecting materials, as well as the difference there is between the activity of the people of the southern states with the northern, is the cause of great difficulty in forwarding any public work, . . .

As there is a marsh between this city and Jones' point, I have been obliged to establish a cross-way, as it is marked on the draught — that work is to be done partly at the expense of the owner of the marsh.

. . . The Battery of Jones' point will be a barbette, and calculated for receiving 12 pieces of heavy cannon. . . .

Alexandria, July 18, 1794

Sir:

. . . I am finishing the crossway at Alexandria, which will be done next week, unless it rains constantly, as it has been mostly the case this year, in this part. I intend to open the ditches as soon as the crossway is finished, which will perhaps be done before the logs are up. Col. Fitzgerald has contracted for them, but I am afraid that they will be long before to appear.

Alexandria, August 3, 1794

Sir:

Having waited near two months for the necessary materials to begin the work at Alexandria, I am still without them, and as the crossway is done, I found myself under the necessity of retiring to Annapolis to visit what has been done there . . .

I delivered on the 9th June the note following into the hands of Col. Fitzgerald, which was appointed to supply me with materials, but as much by the fault of the people, that he has contracted with, as by his infirmity, the business has not been so expeditious as it ought to have been. He is now going to Bath for a month, and has left the business in the hands of Mr. Gray, a clerk in the custom house.

I think it necessary to give you this account that I may not be blamed for delay by the War Office.

Alexandria, Aug. 20, 1794

Sir:

I have the honor to acquaint you of my return from Annapolis, where I have found the works much forwarder than those at Alexandria, notwithstanding the former were begun a month later.

The materials that I requested for Alexandria are not come yet, but I daily expect them, the crossway is finished, the ditches are all opened, and the palisades are begun.

Alexandria, 16th Sept. 1794

Sir:

I take the liberty to inform you, that most of the materials are arrived, and are preparing for the battery. The palisade and frieze are also much advanced, the exertion of public has taken place, and I am in hopes to forward the work greatly by the end of October.

Alexandria, Nov. 5, 1794

Sir:

By the last letter that I wrote you, I had the honor to inform you of the state which the works were then in. The works will be closed by the 15th of this month, and will remain so till the 15th of April. The absence of part of the militia, has been the cause of not having the works finished.



Secretary Knox further instructed Vermonnet that:

You are hereby authorized to have made in all cases where your judgment shall direct, new semi-circle carriages for cannon, now used on the seacoast of France, instead of the old garrison carriage. The improvement in firing en barbette will prevent the necessity of embrazures.<sup>33</sup>

Governor Lee paid a visit to Jones Point in late June 1794 in order to inspect the fort. He noted in a letter to Knox:

I returned from Alexandria last evening where materials are collecting to build the fort on Jones Point.

Col. Fitzgerald was so good as to give his attention to this business and I am persuaded that the engineer will derive from this source every possible aid.

I must say that although for various purposes a fort at Jones Point will be useful yet should war take place it will be indispensable in my judgment to erect a fort on Diggs Point which is some few miles below Jones's in the State of Maryland.<sup>34</sup>

The final blow for the Jones Point project was an unfavorable engineering report filed in 1796. Thus, after the expenditure of \$4,936.36 the fort was abandoned.<sup>35</sup>

There is no record of the Jones Point fort ever having been engaged in hostile activity. Soon after the turn of the century, except for brief mention of it in real estate ads,<sup>36</sup> the fort lay dormant and soon fell into decay. In 1808, Jon Williams, Col. Commandant of Engineers conducted a field investigation of old military forts and among his reports was a description of the old Jones Point site:<sup>37</sup>

Having been favored with the company of Col. Burbank, they proceeded together to Alexandria by water where they arrived in the afternoon of the 2nd instant. They walked to a point about a mile below that city, where they saw the vestige of an old Fort which presented a circular battery in the front, and 2 small bastions in the rear; the whole ditched round in the usual way. The fort did not occupy the whole ground; but appeared to the subscriber to be tolerably well designed. The small size of the Bastion in the rear, evidently discovered that only a pickett defense by a quarter was there contemplated.

This spot appears constantly well calculated for a water battery with very little expense. It is so low that the guns would be on a level with those of the enemies ship; and it looks down the channel in such a manner that no ship could avoid an attack on her bows



and from the first moment that she came within cannon shot, could she keep out of it, while the whole width of the Channel would not permit her to pass at more than 300 or 400 yards distance. On each side of the port is a fine harbor where any number of gunboats could ride in perfect waters and complementary aid the batteries. The command of the high ground in the rear is distant and being in our possession is a circumstance rather in favour than against the position. A fort or rather breastwork battery could be built with little expense, since the earth might be taken from the ditch would be ample to make the rampart and parapet and by proper sluices, the ditch might be full or empty at will.

Not until the Civil War would U.S. military authorities again think of constructing fortifications at Jones Point.

With the demise of the old Confederation government in 1789 and ratification of the new Constitution, it became imperative to select a site for a new capital. Previously, New York and Annapolis had served this function. As part of the Great Compromise, Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of Treasury, secured the approbation of the southern states to support his funding and assumption policies whereby the Federal Government would assume the Revolutionary War debts, in return for agreeing to situate the permanent capital of the United States on the banks of the Potomac. The temporary capital of the country would be established at Philadelphia from 1791 to 1800 as part of the compromise plan.<sup>38</sup>

Among the stipulations of the Residence Act of 1790, President Washington was granted authority to appoint three commissioners to search for a new location for the permanent seat of government. It was also required that the new federal city should not exceed 10 miles square and that it should be placed on the Potomac river some place between the mouth of the Eastern Branch (Anacostia River) and the Connogochegue — a stream entering the Potomac River 20 miles south of the Pennsylvania border.<sup>39</sup>

It was proposed by Richard Bland Lee, Northern Virginia's first Congressman and James Madison that the Potomac River valley of Georgetown, Maryland would be advantageous for the new site since it was near the center of the country, located on a fine river, and far enough inland to be secure from enemy attack.<sup>40</sup> Initially this proposal was defeated, but by a series of complicated machinations between Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison & others, the Potomac site was chosen. Virginia had previously agreed to cede territory in 1789 for the new capital and had also contributed \$120,000 for construction costs. This property was not formally accepted by the Congress until 1801.

Both George Washington and Thomas Jefferson made surveys of the Potomac River in 1790-1791 and in an aide-memoire to Washington, Jefferson recommended that public buildings be placed in the vicinity of the eastern branch. Washington was concerned that the new capital contain good port facilities and thus, Alexandria, a vibrant maritime center was included in the territory to become the great Columbian Federal District.<sup>41</sup> On January 24, 1791, President Washington announced his decision where the new capital would be established and specified that one part of the ten mile square could be found by:

... By running four lines of experiment in the following manner that is to say: running from the court-house of Alexandria, in Virginia, due southwest half a mile, and thence a due southeast course till it shall strike Hunting Creek, to fix the beginning of the said four lines of experiment.

... And I do accordingly direct the said Commissioners, appointed agreeable to the tenor of the said act to proceed forthwith to run the said lines of experiment and the same being run, to survey, and by proper metes and bounds to define and limit the part within the same which is herein before directed for immediate location and acceptance, and thereof to make due report to me under their hands and seals.<sup>42</sup>

Alexandria was south of the Anacostia River and did not officially become part of the District of Columbia until ten years after the residency bill was amended on March 1, 1791.<sup>43</sup> The new legislation stated:

... it shall be lawful for the President to make any part of the territory below the said limit (Eastern Branch) and above the mouth of Hunting Creek part of said district and also the town of Alexandria.<sup>44</sup>

Washington lost little time in instructing Andrew Ellicott to survey the boundary lines for the corner of the district. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated February 14, 1791, Ellicott reported:

I arrived at this town on Monday last, but the cloudy weather prevented any observations being made until Friday which was very fine. On Saturday the two first lines were completed. You will see by the enclosed plat that the second line does not touch any part of Hunting Creek unless the spring drain noted in the plat is to be considered a part of it. It appears to me that in order to make the plan as complete as possible it will be proper to begin the survey of the ten miles square at the Eastern inclination of the upper cape of Hunting Creek marked on the plat. This plan will include all the Harbor and Wharfs at Alexandria, which will not be

the Case if the two first lines mentioned in the proclamation are to remain as now. I shall submit for your consideration the following plan for the permanent location which I believe will embrace every object of advantage which can be included within the ten miles square. . . . The magnetic variations at this place is (sic) somewhat uncertain, arising no doubt from some local cause. The Latitude of Alexandria I find to be about 33 48 20 N. This afternoon I intend beginning the rough survey which shall be executed with all possible dispatch.<sup>45</sup>

Later, Ellicott wrote his wife as follows:

I arrived at this Town on Tuesday, last in good health but in consequences of bad weather, could not proceed to business till Friday last. I have been treated with great politeness by the inhabitants, who are truly rejoiced at the prospect of being included in the Federal district. I shall leave the town this afternoon to begin the rough survey of the ten miles square.<sup>46</sup>

The official boundaries of the District were promulgated in a proclamation issued by President Washington on March 30, 1791:

. . . Beginning at Jones Point, being the upper cape of Hunting Creek in Virginia and at an angle in the outset of 45 degrees west of the north . . . then beginning again at Jones Point and running in another direct line at a right angle with the first across the Potomac 10 miles for the 2nd line. . . .<sup>47</sup>

Alexandrians, who were ecstatic about becoming a part of the District of Columbia held an elaborate ceremony on April 17, 1791, at Jones Point and laid the first cornerstone. This was the first of 40 stones which were placed about one mile apart. Most of the stones were floated up the river from a quarry at Aquia, Virginia and then transplanted to their designated positions. They were made of brown sandstone "about one foot square, beveled at 4 inches from the top and extending about 2 feet above the surface of the ground."<sup>48</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that President Washington and officials in Alexandria were so anxious to have the first stone erected that they used a temporary one until the permanent stone was put in place in the same position in 1794.<sup>49</sup> If true, this would cast some doubt on whether the current stone at Jones Point is indeed the first cornerstone laid or if it merely marks the site where it was placed in 1791. A description of the festivities at the point appeared in the April 21, 1791 edition of the *Virginia Journal* and *Alexandria Advertiser*:

The mayor and the commonality, together with the members of the different lodges of the town, at 3 o'clock waited on the commissioners at Mr. Wise's, where they had arrived. After

drinking a glass of wine to the following sentiment, viz. 'May the stone we are about to place in the ground remain an immovable monument of the wisdom and unanimity of North America,' the company then moved on to Jones Point in the following order:

First, the Town Sergeant; second, the Hon. Daniel Carroll and the Mayor; third, Mr. Ellicott and the recorder; fourth, such Aldermen and Councilmen as were not free Masons; fifth, strangers; sixth, the master of Lodge No. 22, with Dr. David Steward (sic) at his right and Rev. James Muir at his left. Lastly the citizens two by two.

When Mr. Ellicott had ascertained the precise point from which the first line of the District was to proceed, the master of the lodge and Dr. Steward, assisted by some of the other brothers, placed the stone; after which a deposit of corn, wine and oil was made upon it and the following observations were delivered by the Rev. Muir: Of America it may be said as it was of Judea of old, that it is a good land and large. . . .

May this Stone long commemorate the goodness of God in those uncommon events which have given America a name among the Nations — Under this Stone, may Jealousy and Selfishness be forever buried! . . .<sup>50</sup>

Through the years many of the original boundary stones have been damaged or removed. A similar fate befell the historic landmark at Jones Point. A report prepared by Mr. C. H. Sinclair of the U.S. Corps of Engineers office in 1884 mentioned that the Jones Point stone had been entombed in a sea wall in 1861. Excerpts from this study aver:

At Jones Point in 1861 a seawall three feet 8½ inches high was built and the cornerstone enclosed in the wall.

The lighthouse keeper, Mr. Greenwood, saw the stone at the time the wall was built and says it was 12 inches by 12 inches and stood 15 inches above the ground.

The wall has a batter of 2 inches, and on a stone marked in the sketch, a finger is cut.

The keeper said that this was cut to show where the center of the said stone was.<sup>51</sup>

After being hidden for 51 years the Jones Point marker was found when Lieutenant Colonel W. C. Langfitt of the U.S. Engineer Corp broke open the old wall in 1912.

The Corp erected a cage about 6 feet long and 4 feet in height and 2½ feet in depth, "covered with a broad concrete slab." The stone was found to

vary slightly in shape from the other original ones. It was about "eleven inches by 14 inches instead of the usual 12 by 12. About 22 inches of the stone is now above the ground."<sup>52</sup>

In 1921, the District of Columbia Chapter of the D.A.R. celebrated the laying of the first cornerstone at Jones Point. The *Gazette* noted:

Boundary Stone is 130 Years Old  
Patriotic Exercises Held This Afternoon at Jones Point

D.C.D.A.R. In Charge

Minutes of Laying of South stone of D.C. Boundary Read from  
Masonic Record.

Interesting addresses were made this afternoon at Jones Point at the patriotic exercises held at that place in observance of the 130th anniversary of the laying of the south boundary stone of the District of Columbia held under the auspices of the District of Columbia Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. Francis St. Clair, state regent of the District of Columbia D.A.R., presided. She read letters of regret from President Harding, Vice President Coolidge, the three District of Columbia Commissioners, the President General of the D.A.R.

Mrs. L. A. Abbott, historian of the chapter, made a short address in which she introduced Mrs. Velma Sylvester Barber. Mrs. Barber succeeded in locating all of the boundary stones of the District of Columbia and it was through her untiring efforts that the stones were located and suitably marked. She told of this work.

Percy E. Clift, worshipful master of Alexandria-Washington Lodge of Masons, read the minutes of the original dedication of the stone from a history of the local lodge published in 1876 and compiled from the minutes of Alexandria-Washington Lodge.

Fred E. Woodward, of Washington spoke along the lines of Mrs. Barber. The speaker lauded the work of the D.A.R.

Rev. Dr. W. J. Morton, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, this city made an address on the work being done by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Others who spoke were Commissioner of Lighthouses Putnam, Clarence A. Kenyon of the Sons of the American Revolution and Admiral Baird, U.S.N.

About 20 pieces of the U.S. Marine Band played patriotic airs during the progress of the exercises. Attending the ceremonies were delegations from this city and Washington.<sup>53</sup>

The Department of Commerce granted the Mt. Vernon Chapter of the D.A.R. portions of Jones Point which included the site of the first boundary marker in 1926. Frequently plagued by vandals, the lighthouse has been rehabilitated by the D.A.R. who have done an admirable job of protecting this historic landmark.

From 1791 to 1855, Jones Point witnessed a diverse series of historical events. Some involved commercial ventures such as the establishment of a rope walk while others concerned the public health — the construction of a quarantine center. Before previewing these incidents, let us “flesh out” some of the men who claimed title to that spit of land.

A member of the Virginia gentry, William Thornton Alexander was a direct descendant of John Alexander — the man for whom Alexandria was named. Born on June 21, 1768, William had inherited from his mother, Lucy T. Alexander, in 1781 a tract of land adjacent to Alexandria.<sup>54</sup> Piece by piece, he would sell or lease parcels to interested parties. On December 27, 1794, he conveyed to Dr. Stephen Cooke 6 acres of real estate commonly called Jones Point for L 19.<sup>55</sup> The parcel is described as:

the whole of that piece of ground or parcel of land to the southward of the town of Alexandria commonly called Jones Point containing about six acres more or less. Bounded on the North by a parcel of land conveyed by W. T. Alexander to Stephen Cooke on 23 June 1794 and by river Potomac, on west by Hunting Creek. . . .<sup>56</sup>

Cooke was a prominent Alexandria physician who had practiced medicine in town since 1750.<sup>57</sup> He had been a surgeon during the American Revolution and was captured by the British. While imprisoned in Bermuda, he married an English lady and later returned to Alexandria. After the war, Dr. Cooke expanded his real estate holdings to include numerous properties which lay contiguous to Jones Point. At frequent intervals he would lease or sell these parcels. The deed descriptions and real estate advertisements of these transactions provide a wealth of physical evidence on the topographical features at Jones Point during this era. One transaction was finalized by Dr. Cooke on September 1, 1795. He rented a ½ acre of the northern portion of Jones Point to Wm. Patterson. The deed reads as follows:

. . . Beginning at a Sycamore tree near the log-house on said point, and running thence Easterly & parallel with the south side of said log house to within twenty feet of the Stone wall lately built, thence Northerly & parallel with the said Stonewall to the causeway . . .<sup>58</sup>

Again in 1800, Dr. Cooke offered not only to rent pasture land at Jones Point but to lease or sell his home at 215 South Fairfax Street.



... The subscriber will either sell or rent the HOUSE In which he now lives, on Fairfax street, the HOUSE on King street, near Royal street, adjoining the house now occupied by Mr. Pomery; the house on King street near Washington street, now occupied by Mr. Hugh Adrein and the ROOM where the dancing school was lately kept by Mr. LeFebre.

He will lease for one or more years, either the whole or part of the pasture ground, adjoining the Mall, and extending to Hunting Creek — that part of Jones Point, between Mr. Patterson's house and the *Fort*.<sup>59</sup>

This advertisement is significant because it mentioned that Mr. Patterson still occupied a log house on the point and that the fortifications constructed by Vermonnet were still extant. Apparently, Dr. Cooke was unable to sell his Jones Point holdings because at the time of his death, his wife Catharine inherited the tract.

As a large seaport town, Alexandria was frequented by its share of epidemics and plagues. Life was tenuous as smallpox, malaria and typhoid took their toll. Yellow fever swept the city in 1793, 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1829. The 1803 epidemic was so serious that 200 people died and 3,000 Alexandrians fled the city.<sup>60</sup> To combat these maladies, a board of health was organized and numerous quarantines implemented. As early as 1793, Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick had been appointed quarantine officer of the Alexandria Port by Governor Light Horse Harry Lee. As health officer, Dr. Dick was authorized to construct a quarantine station on Jones Point. This was not accomplished until the following year (1794) "when he felt it necessary to have a house, and on his own responsibility built one."<sup>61</sup> John Dundas, Mayor of Alexandria, however, objected to the station because it was "too near the town" and suggested that it be relocated to Crainy Island in the Potomac River.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the facility remained at Jones Point only for a brief period of time.

After the demise of Dr. Stephen Cooke, his wife Catharine inherited Jones Point. She sold it to Robert Hunter for \$5,000 on March 21, 1816.<sup>63</sup> Robert W. Hunter was a son of the famous Alexandria shipbuilder John Hunter who came to town in 1783 and established the Hunter's shipyard. During the senior Hunter's lifetime, he built many vessels and upon his retirement in 1820, he was succeeded by his son Robert. Robert continued to operate the shipyard until his death in 1858 and later it was sold to James Green.<sup>64</sup> Hunter is listed in the 1820 Census as a manufacturer with four sons.<sup>65</sup> He was extremely protective of his investment at Jones Point and forbade any "trespassing or hunting" on the property in 1817.<sup>66</sup> As a business venture, he leased the peninsula to George Jones for 12 years and 8 months on April 24, 1818 with the proviso that Jones agree to repair the bridge to the property and that he install a pump and well.<sup>67</sup> Not long

afterwards, Jones opened a tavern and in July 1818, he announced to the public:

### MR. JONES

Respectfully, informs the gentlemen of Alexandria, that his tavern at Jones' Point, adjoining this town, is open in a superior manner for their accomodation, having laid in a stock of the best wines and spirits, and can furnish them with any refreshments that are warranted.<sup>68</sup>

By October he also sported duck shooting and oyster suppers. Eight months later, (February, 1819) he rented a fishery which was located on Jones Point:

. . . The subscriber wishes to let for one season or more his excellent fishery, or is willing to work it out on shares. Application to be made to him personally, or written particulars left at Mr. George Hill's . . .

He also informs the inhabitants of Alexandria, and its neighborhood, that he invented a nightbolt to bedrooms, by means of which the door is bolted or unbolted without the trouble of rising out of bed. House bells put up and repaired in the neatest manner, and on the most reasonable terms.<sup>69</sup>

By December 1819, Jones had become so involved in other business transactions, that he was hard-pressed to run his tavern. Therefore, he decided to lease for one or more years:

that well established Tavern on Jones's Point, with the gardens in full state of cultivation, the payment for fixtures, etc. will be made easy. The many privileges that belong to this place will be shown to those who make application to the subscriber, whose only reason for letting it is, that he cannot attend to the Tavern and his business in town.<sup>70</sup>

In March 1820, the lease which Jones had on one of the dwellings was also auctioned off:

### PUBLIC SALE

Will be sold on the premises to the highest bidder on a credit of 3 months, on Friday the 26th inst. at 10 o'clock A.M. the unexpired lease of George Jones, being eleven years on that well known tenement Jones's Point.

The tenement as originally leased by Jones contained 7½ acres; five acres of which have been under let by said Jones for 5 years for a sum sufficient to pay the entire rent for that period. On that part of



the lease premises reserved by Jones, there is a good house containing seven rooms fitted up for a tavern, a stable. The garden is in a good state of cultivation and the fencing does not want repairing. The house has hitherto been profitably kept as a place for evening amusements. The sheds or covering for the shuffleboard and nine pins are in good preservation.<sup>71</sup>

Robert W. Hunter continued his ownership of Jones Point until he sold it to Josiah Davis in April 1833. Jones's association with the property probably ceased sometime before 1827. At this time, Hunter tried to again lease Jones Point and stated that it was:

handsomely and suitably situated for an extensive garden and upon examination will receive the admiration of Botanists. The land is very productive and the buildings are commodious and comfortable. It will be rented for one or more years; and to a good tenant, the terms will be moderate.<sup>72</sup>

Hunter gained complete control of the property in 1830, when Alexander Seymour Hooe agreed to release the ground rent for \$760.<sup>73</sup> With the sale of the property to Josiah Davis in 1833, there is no further evidence that a tavern remained in operation. The Davis era, however, ushered in another commercial venture at Jones Point that was equally if not more important than the tavern trade. This enterprise was a cordage business.

As the seventh largest seaport in the United States in 1795, Alexandria was the epicenter of a vibrant maritime trade. It was visited by brigs, clippers and other sailing vessels and its waterfront was alive with the sounds and smells of the sea. The shipbuilding trade had been initiated in the 1760's by Thomas Fleming who maintained a yard at Point Lumley (foot of Duke street.) An essential element in the construction of ships was the manufacture of cordage. Cordage was made at ropewalks and it constituted one of the earliest industries in America. As early as 1630, John Harrison was making rope in Boston and by 1810 there were 173 ropewalks scattered throughout the country.<sup>74</sup> The ropewalk was generally set up in an open area of ground and consisted of "a long, low building, sometimes 1,200 feet in length in which the ropemaker walked backward, paying out the fiber from a bundle tied around his waist spining it into yarn as he went."<sup>75</sup>

There were several ropewalks in Alexandria in the late 18th and early 19th century. For instance, James Irvin conducted one in Alexandria as early as 1794 and it was situated near Washington and Queen street. Irvin advertised the sale of the product in the local Gazette.

## CORDAGE

Of large size and of the best quality, also

### WHITEROPE

Of every description, to be had, on the most reasonable terms, either at the Rope-Walk, or the store of Mr. Thomas Irvin, on Harpers Wharf.

. . . Ropes for the use of Farmers, such as Bedcordes, Trace Ropes and leading lines, may be had on very moderate terms by the quantity, at either of the above places.<sup>76</sup>

It is not exactly known when the ropewalk at Jones Point was built but it is graphically represented on the 1845 Ewing Map of Alexandria.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps, Robert W. Hunter had placed a ropewalk on the point to support his shipbuilding yard. The first appearance of it in the land records occurred when Josiah H. Davis owned Jones Point. There is no doubt, however, that cordage was an essential element in Alexandria's commercial economy. An 1810 census of manufacturing in the United States listed 3 ropewalks in Alexandria which produced 400 tons of rope valued at \$160,000.<sup>78</sup> And such Alexandrians as Ambrose Bowling, Thomas Gremshaw, Samuel Harper, Wm. Harper, Charles Shields and John Thompson were engaged in the trade.<sup>79</sup>

Those who worked in ropewalks were considered so essential to the military preparedness of the country that a 1780 act for the defense of the eastern frontier of Virginia declared that:

. . . the workmen employed in the public shipyards, foundery, rope walks and other public works, shall be and they are hereby declared to be exempt from military duty of every kind . . .<sup>80</sup>

The ropewalk at Jones Point can be traced to Josiah Davis's ownership of the peninsula. He had purchased the parcel on April 20, 1833 from Robert Hunter for \$3,350.<sup>81</sup> Davis was a very prosperous Alexandria lumber dealer and was in partnership with Geo. H. Smoot.<sup>82</sup> Born on December 31, 1783, Davis had served as a private in the War of 1812 in Capt. McGuire's Company.<sup>83</sup> A man of substantial business investments, he probably resided at 321 South Lee Street for a time and later built a home at 213 South Pitt.<sup>84</sup> Mary Powell indicates in her book, *The History of Old Alexandria*, that:

Old Josiah Davis who lived near the tunnel was met nearly every morning at his front door by a cow and a goose who accompanied him to his place of business nearby. After receiving an apple and a handful of grain the two departed to other fields.<sup>85</sup>

At Jones Point, Davis had two small tenements which he rented on occasion. Advertisements for these houses appeared in 1833, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1840, 1851 and 1852. Some excerpts from these are as follows:

**Jones Point — House for Rent**

That pleasantly situated HOUSE on Jones Point to which will be attached sufficient grounds for a garden. To a person of correct habits, I will rent it on reasonable terms.

*Gazette*, May 22, 1833

To rent, to a decent tenant, (and none other need apply) the upper dwelling house with the garden thereunto attached. Also the large and convenient brick dwelling house . . .

*Gazette*, February 2, 1836, p. 3

One half of the dwelling house upper end of Jones' Point, at a low rent. . . .

*Gazette*, September 28, 1837, p. 1.

. . . To a person accustomed to living in the Country the house and garden at Jones' Point . . .

*Gazette*, October 13, 1838, p. 3.

. . . To rent — the dwelling house, upper part of Jones' Point, with a small garden.

*Gazette*, March 25, 1840, p. 1.

FOR RENT . . . The small HOUSE, lower end of Jones' Point, with a small garden . . . To a sober man the rent will be moderate. . . .

P.S. — I will rent the whole Point on reasonable terms to a sober, careful person. It is now well set in clover.

*Gazette*, June 12, 1851, p. 3.

Jones Point is for rent for the present year. It has two small tenements on it. . . .

*Gazette*, March 20, 1852, p. 3.

One family who rented one of these dwellings was William Pettit. Pettit had a son named Robert who was killed in an altercation with Thomas Murray at Fort Washington Lighthouse in June, 1887.<sup>86</sup> Robert was remembered as:

an inoffensive man and had been living in the neighborhood of Fort Washington for a number of years. He was an Alexandrian by

birth, but is now remembered by but few, and they the older residents of the southeastern section of the city. In the days of the old 'rope walk,' which ran nearly the entire length of Jones's Point, it will be remembered that a little house stood almost on the identical spot now occupied by the light house. Here the unfortunate man, with his father (Wm. Pettit) and mother, resided nearly forty years ago.<sup>87</sup>

Josiah Davis became financially indebted to his business partner George H. Smoot during the panic of 1837 and was forced to mortgage "a tract of land commonly called Jones Point with all fixtures and improvements and implements of trade used in the rope walk . . ." to Robert J. Taylor, an Alexandria attorney in order to indemnify Smoot who had endorsed Davis's notes.<sup>88</sup> Davis must have paid off the indebtedness because he maintained possession of Jones Point until he sold it to the Manassas Gap Railroad in March 1853.<sup>89</sup> Davis resided in Alexandria until his death on April 30, 1862, and was buried at St. Paul's Cemetery.<sup>90</sup>

The ropewalk at Jones Point fell victim to technological progress and probably ceased operation circa 1850. In 1847, a new important invention did away with the old systems of rope-walks. A.M. Whipple of Providence, Rhode Island invented a process where rope could be made in a square room instead of long walks.<sup>91</sup> A verbal portrait, however, has been left by an 'Old Grad' of St. John's Academy which recreates the scene:

. . . During these years, the old rope walk was standing on Jones's Point, and every afternoon during the summer, it was the custom of the boys to go thither after school, accompanied by the Principal to indulge in the luxury of a bath. They began to undress in the western part, and run naked through the long building (it extended the whole length of the point) looking like so many Indians rushing to attack a settlement, their yells adding materially to the resemblance. At the entrance on the west there was a huge reel for rope, on which the boys used to stand and turn each other over, the rise and fall being probably twenty feet, and on occasion a boy threw out his back as he passed the second story window and struck a little fellow who was standing in it, throwing him to the ground, to the great alarm of all present. Fortunately, he was only stunned by the fall, but the Principal at once forbade riding on the reel. On another occasion, a boy had put on by mistake the shirt of Capt. Jim Walsh (who was pugnacious as a boy as he afterwards proved in his celebrated controversy with Mayor Latham when he commanded the night watch) and Jim overhauling him, made him stop in the road and return the borrowed garment, in presence of a crowd of lookers on. There was a great reel, moving horizontally, in the eastern end of the

rope walk and riding each other upon it was a favorite pastime after the swimming was over.<sup>92</sup>

Of all the incidents linked to Jones Point, more has probably been penned on the construction and maintenance of the lighthouse than any other topic. Numerous newspaper articles, historical monographs and architectural studies have highlighted the lighthouse itself and the socio-economic conditions on the peninsula. Steven Lewis, historian with the National Park Service, has written two unpublished studies on Jones Point. One is a draft study called "Historical Report — Jones Point Lighthouse" which was done in 1963 and the other is entitled "Historical Data — Historic Structures Report Part II, Jones Point — Lighthouse", compiled in 1966. The reports are thoroughly documented and treat such topics as the lighthouse and keeper's dwelling, lanterns, lamps, lens, and related structures on Jones Point. They are also replete with architectural drawings and photographs. Another monograph, "Notes and Comments on the Archaeology of a late Nineteenth and Early 20th Century Lighthouse on Jones Point, Alexandria, Virginia", was prepared by J. G. Little II, and Harvard Ayers, archaeologists at Catholic University for the Park Service. Data from these three disquisitions will be utilized to sketch the milieu at Jones Point between 1853 and the early 1920's.

Lighthouses were an essential element in the commercial history of the early republic. One of the early laws passed by the first Congress placed the title to 12 lighthouses in the hands of the federal government and provided for their maintenance and upkeep. By 1800, there were 24 lighthouses in the United States, most of which were located at the entrances to harbors.<sup>93</sup> Only one of these facilities was located on the Chesapeake Bay, however, and it was situated at Cape Henry. With the passage of the first harbor improvement act on March 23, 1823, there developed an impetus to improve safety conditions along America's rivers so that by 1850 there were 21 lighthouses on the Chesapeake Bay.<sup>94</sup>

A Lighthouse Board was created by Congress on October 9, 1852, and it was headed by a coterie of military officers and civilian scientists who met four times a year. The engineers prepared at the request of the Board specific plans, cost estimates and specifications for new lighthouses. Navigational safety on the Chesapeake was further enhanced by the passage of an appropriation bill on August 31, 1852. Funds totalling \$5,000 "for the purchase of a site — the erection of a lighthouse on Jones Point, in the Potomac River, near Alexandria, in the State of Virginia", were included in this bill.<sup>95</sup>

Not long afterwards, the federal government began to take measures to purchase property at Jones Point for the lighthouse. A. D. Buche filed a report with the lighthouse Board on October 26, 1852, in reference to the project and Joseph Eaches, Alexandria attorney and Superintendent of Lights made a similar request.<sup>96</sup> It was Eaches who arranged for the purchase of the lighthouse site at the peninsula. On February 5, 1853, he

wrote a memo to the Lighthouse Board informing them that he was negotiating for it from the Manassas Gap Railroad.<sup>97</sup>

Previously the Manassas Gap railroad had been granted a charter by the Virginia General Assembly in March 1850 "authorizing an extension of its line from some point east of the Thoroughfare Gap by way of Fairfax Courthouse to the city of Alexandria."<sup>98</sup> Jones Point was supposed to become its terminal in Alexandria. By 1854, construction was underway at nine places between Jones Point and Alexandria and at the crossing of Bull Run near Sudley. The *Alexandria Gazette* of September 26, 1854 reported:

The work on the Independent Line of the Manassas Gap R.R. at Jones Point, & along the creek is going forward with vigor.<sup>99</sup>

In 1858 financial problems, however, overtook the line and not a single rail was ever laid.<sup>100</sup> Vestiges of the old railroad grade can be seen running through Fairfax county and in Alexandria. The south ramp of the Woodrow Wilson bridge is built on it.<sup>101</sup>

During the interval that Eaches was negotiating for the purchase of a lighthouse site at Jones Point, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act on February 18, 1853, ceding "Jurisdiction over certain lands for lighthouse purposes, subject to the construction, operation and maintenance of those facilities."<sup>102</sup> Additional provisions of the law are stated below:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly that it shall and may be lawful for the Governor of this Commonwealth and he is hereby fully authorized for and on behalf of this Commonwealth, by proper deeds and instruments in writing under his and the Seal of this Commonwealth to convey, . . . and make over to the United States for the use of the United States all the jurisdiction which this Commonwealth possesses over so much land not exceeding three acres for any one site as may be necessary for the erection of a beacon at or near . . . also the quantity upon the Potomac River on Jones Point in Alexandria County for the erection of a light house . . .

Provided that beacon lights or beacons or light houses as aforesaid shall be erected, kept in repair, and supported at the expense of the United States on each of the said Points.

That if a beacon or beacon lights or light houses as aforesaid shall not be erected on each of the said points, within the space of seven years after the cession aforesaid by this commonwealth, or if at any time thereafter the said beacon light or light houses or any one of them shall be sufficed to fall into decay or be . . . useless for the purposes aforesaid, and so continue for the period of seven years, then and in these cases the jurisdiction over such territory hereby directed to be vested in the United States, and any property or

interest in the soil which may have been granted and conveyed by this Commonwealth to the U.S. by virtue of this act shall revert to the Commonwealth and be subject to the jurisdiction of the same in like manner as if this act had never been made. . . .<sup>103</sup>

A few days later on March 12, 1853, the Manassas Gap Railroad purchased Jones Point from Josiah Davis for \$16,000 and immediately executed a deed of trust on the property.<sup>104</sup>

From April 1853 until September 1855, a stream of correspondence pertaining to the lighthouse at Jones Point flowed between the railroad and the Lighthouse Board. In November 1853, the railroad directed 3 exchanges to the board pertaining to its willingness to transmit property at the point for the purpose of erecting the light house.<sup>105</sup> Additional correspondence between the parties concerned the cloud on the title to Jones Point. The heirs of Stephen Cooke claimed 1/6 part of the peninsula as a result of a deed of trust entered into with the Manassas Gap Railroad on March 12, 1853.<sup>106</sup> Finally, the problems were resolved and the federal government purchased a parcel 30 x 100 ft. from the railroad et al. for \$400.<sup>107</sup> The deed was transmitted by Edward Green, Secretary of the Manassas Gap Railroad to the Lighthouse Board on May 7, 1855, and finally approved by Attorney General Caleb Cushing on July 13.<sup>108</sup> Cushing wrote James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury, the following epistle concerning the title to Jones Point:<sup>109</sup>

Attorney Generals Office  
13 July 1855

SIR:

Your communication of this date, relating to the title of a proposed Light House site at Jones' Point, Virginia I received.

I have examined the deed and abstract of title to the land described. The title appears to have been vested in certain of the grantors. This deed contains no words of transmission or perpetuity. But this usual requisite is dispensed with by an express legislative enactment in Virginia. I, therefore certify that the above mentioned deed vests in the United States a valid title to the land there described.

I am,  
Very Respectfully  
Caleb Cushing



To: James Guthrie  
Secretary of the  
Treasury

It was also at this time "Uncle Harry", a former servant of George Washington at Mt. Vernon who had removed to Jones Point, died. He was reported to have possession of several relics belonging to the Washington family:

Old Uncle Harry in the days of General Washington, one of the Mt. Vernon servants, died yesterday where he had lived for many years at Jones Point. He was fond of talking of his old master to the day of his death.<sup>110</sup>

#### An Interesting Relic —

Mr. Charles W. Nowland, of this city, has in his possession a small gold watch about as large around as a silver quarter, of an antique pattern, which from its history, was undoubtedly at one time the property of either Gen. Washington or his illustrious lady. Some of the older citizens of the southern portion of the city may remember, as the writer distinctly does, a very old looking and decrepid colored man named Harry Herbert who lived in a house on Jones Point between twenty-five and thirty years ago. He always claimed to have been one of the slaves manumitted by General Washington's will and after the death of that gentleman took up this abode in this city where he resided until his death, which occurred about the time the old Manassas Gap R.R. Co. was filling up the Point for their proposed depot. The old darkey in question was not as voluminous in his "reminiscences" as the majority of antiquated colored individuals but what he did tell of his recollections of his late master were few and savored much of probability. It appears that many years ago "old uncle Harry" as he was always called, employed Mr. Nowland to paint a venerable looking chest he had in his possession, and while the work was in progress a false bottom, unknown before was accidentally displaced when the watch described above rolled out to the no little astonishment of the colored man, who said he had purchased the chest forty five years previously from one of his fellow servants at the old Mr. Vernon estate, just before his removal to this city. He also told Mr. N. that he well remembered when a small boy how much commotion had been made at his former home about something in the jewelry line having been stolen from either his late master or mistress and seemed confident that the watch was once the property of one or the other of them, and that the thief had secreted it in the old chest, and died without

divulging its whereabouts. Mr. Nowland purchased it from the old man and has had it ever since, but has only recently begun to look upon it as an interesting relic.<sup>111</sup>

#### Relics of Washington

. . . Mr. N. also obtained from the old darkey other articles equally valuable as mementos of the illustrious father of his country, if, . . . Among these articles is a Spanish dollar, dated 1797, which the old servant declared his master gave him as a gift on a certain Christmas day, also a shaving glass formerly used by Washington, together with a bell with which he was accustomed to call his coachman, and a walking stick which the General always carried when engaged in pedestrian exercises around his estate. Among the other antiquated articles which came from Mt. Vernon, now in Mr. Nolan's possession, are several dilapidated old hymn books containing revolutionary songs, a pair of old fashioned spectacles, which at one time rested on the nose of the colored man . . . and an old trunk studded with "rook" letters in which "W" and some other letters were very legible. . . .<sup>112</sup>

A proposal to build the lighthouse at Jones Point appeared in the August 1855 *Gazette*. It read:

Treasury Department  
Office Light-House Board  
Washington, Aug. 22, 1855

PROPOSALS will be received until 1 o'clock on the 22nd of September, next when the bids will be open for furnishing the materials and building a lighthouse on Jones' Point, Potomac river, near Alexandria, by the 30th of November next.

It will be a frame building resting on brick foundation, and of one and a half story with basement, having a circular tower on top for the support of the lantern, the horizontal dimensions being 38 by 19 feet.

Detailed drawings and specifications can be seen at this office and at the office of the Collector at Alexandria.

Should any bid be accepted, a contract will be executed at once for the work.

No payment will be made until the whole work is completed and before it is received it must be inspected and approved by the agent of the government appointed to superintend the work — said agent having power to reject all materials and workmanship, not in accordance with the terms of the contract.

The right is reserved to reject any and all bids that may be deemed prejudicial to the public interest.

All bids should be sealed and addressed to the undersigned, endorsed "Proposals for Jones's Point Lighthouse."

Edm'd L. F. Hardcastle,  
Engineer Secretary<sup>113</sup>

T. A. Jenkins, Secretary of the Lighthouse Board awarded the contract to Charles B. Church of Washington on September 28, 1855.<sup>114</sup> Actual oversight of the construction was supervised by Captain Edmund L. F. Hardcastle, U.S. Corp of Topographical Engineers. Throughout this period, the *Alexandria Gazette* kept the general public informed of developments at the site. On the 29th of September it declared that a contract had been made with B. Church requiring him to erect a 19 x 19 x 30 ft. building by November 1st including a 10 ft. cupola for the lantern. Although the *Evening Star* said on December 19, 1855, that "the lighthouse at Jones Point is nearly completed", cold weather hindered its completion until May 1856 at which time the *Gazette* printed the following:

The Light House on Jones Point was illuminated on Thursday night. (May 1, 1856) The light was brilliant. Mr. Deeton, the keeper will faithfully attend to his duties.<sup>115</sup>

The structure which Church built was slightly different from the original specifications. According to the Historic American Building Survey of September 1963, the Jones Point Light House was:

a 2 story 19 x 38 ft. frame structure with a gable roof with wooden shingles . . . The south or front elevation has the main entrance in the center. This being a 6 panel door with side light & steps . . . A chimney exists on the end of each building. From the center of the gable roof protrudes the lantern, which is cast iron. . . . The roof also being iron in the shape of a cane topped by a small domed cylinder with air vents. In the front of the lantern was a small door which gave access to a cat-walk.

All sides of the building are furnished similar to the front of the building with clapboards — simple Greek revival trim. The first floor has wooden blinds, . . . All of the windows were wooden double . . . and are 6 light sash. There is an ornamental deep cornice molding which contained a wooden eavestrough, later covered with shingles . . .

The Lighthouse was constructed on a brick foundation about 4 ft. of which were exposed above ground . . .

. . . The lighthouse sits on an artificial mound held in by a stone retaining wall about 5 ft. high & 30 ft. by 80 ft. . . . Most of the site has been fenced in by a wooden picket fence . . . (5 ft. high with cedar posts)<sup>116</sup>

The porch on the west front was added in 1909. Other related buildings on the site included a buoy house, privy well, wood-house, outdoor kitchen.

Through the years, the Lighthouse Board performed a variety of repairs at Jones Point.

The most recurring problem at the lighthouse seemed to be the corrosion of the gas line which fed gas to the lamp. Initially, oil lamps which burned sperm oil were utilized as fuel but in 1858, the Superintendent of Light, E. Hugh, proposed burning gas from the Alexandria Gas works which were located at the southeast corner of North Lee and Oronoko streets. High water and dampness corroded the pipes and interfered with the efficiency of the system.<sup>117</sup> Partially as a result of this dissatisfaction, on November 20, 1900, the gas burning lamp was changed to a "fixed red light using fifth order oil lamps."<sup>118</sup> The introduction of the red light reduced visibility from 12 to 9 nautical miles. During the remainder of the century, the Jones Point Lighthouse would undergo required inspections by the Lighthouse Board. In 1868, it was reported in "good condition"; in 1869 "the fencing needed repairing, and a lightning rod should be provided for the dwelling."<sup>119</sup>

Having surveyed the architectural aspects of the Jones Point Lighthouse, we can now learn more about the duties and lifestyle of the lightkeepers. For many of the keepers on the Chesapeake Bay, existence could be lonely and monotonous. There was the isolation and the constant routine of lighting the lamp each night and keeping the apparatus in good order. Perhaps, the keeper at Jones Point may have been an exception since his station was close to a town and he could occasionally visit friends and do other errands. All too often the position of the lightkeeper was seen as a political plum and in 1874 a writer complained that:

. . . the petty, though important place of light keeper has too often been made a political prize, and thus the service, which requires permanence, has been injured. The politicians of a baser sort have often defeated the intensions and desires of the (Lighthouse) board and ousted a good man to put in one 'useful at the polls.'<sup>120</sup>

The Lighthouse Board published a manual which specifically outlined the duties that each keeper had to perform. Some of these included: keep a journal and log of expenditures, maintain the lighthouse and grounds and outlying buildings; preserve dikes, fences, landing places; "be courteous & polite to all visitors. They will be shown the illuminating apparatus, buildings, . . . at such times as may not seriously interfere with their light station duties. . . . Special care must be taken to prevent visitors from

scratching their names or initials with diamond ornaments upon the glass of the lantern. . . . Keepers are to receive supplies at the lighthouse and make careful examination of the same. . . . All wrecks that take place within the vicinity of lights must be reported. . . . No keeper will be excused who is absent from his duties at night unless excused. . . . In case of sickness, keepers are required to keep proper attendants . . . duty of Lighthouse keeper to assign a proper part of their dwellings when required and to furnish food to all persons who may visit light stations as engineers, etc.”<sup>121</sup>

Strict instructions were also provided for morning routines, evening routines and night duties.

## Jones Point Lighthouse Keepers and Personnel

*George L. Deeton* — b. 1837

The first lighthouse keeper appointed to the Jones Point station was George L. Deeton. He was paid a salary of \$400 a year. His family had emigrated from Anderly Steeple, Northriding of Yorkshire, England and settled in Alexandria. His father, George Deeton, was a shoemaker. George L. was born in 1837 thus making him 18 years of age when he became Alexandria's first lighthouse keeper.<sup>122</sup> The author does not know when Deeton died or how long he served as keeper. His name is associated with the famous Marshall House incident which transpired in Alexandria on May 24, 1861, during the early days of the Civil War. When Union troops invaded the town, Col. Elmer Ellsworth climbed the steps of the Marshall House Hotel to seize a rebel flag and was shot by the proprietor James Jackson. Jackson, in turn, was shot and killed by a Private Brownell. George L. Deeton served on the coroner's inquest investigating Jackson's death and his name appeared on the document which asserted that Jackson had been killed protecting his private property.<sup>123</sup>

*John P. Geisindaffer* — b. 1789; d. 1861

“Died on May 22, 1861 at the age of 72. His funeral was held on Thursday (June 23, 1861) at 3 o'clock from his residence, Jones Point Light House.”<sup>124</sup>

*Andrew Jamieson* — b. 1824; d. Oct. 14, 1901

During the Civil War, Alexandria served as a hospital and logistical supply center for the Union Army. Thousands of Union troops milled through its streets and manned fortifications outside the City. After the death of John P. Geisindaffer, the *Local News* reported:

There is now, we believe, no regularly appointed keeper of the Light House at Jones Point, but the establishment is in charge of the military, and the Light is regularly kept up.<sup>125</sup>

In the absence of an official keeper, Andrew Jamieson, Superintendent of Lights, took charge of many lighthouse affairs. He was a native born Alexandrian and was the son of the late Robert Jamieson.<sup>126</sup> The 1850 census lists his occupation as a baker.<sup>127</sup> As early as August 1861, he informed the Board that property would be removed from the lighthouse and asked their instruction for its disposition.<sup>128</sup>

No doubt Jamieson must have had a close working relationship with U.S. military authorities since they exercised control over the town and the Jones Point peninsula. To process meat, a government slaughter house was constructed in the cove, on a set of piers near Jones Point.<sup>129</sup> Complaints of dead horse carcasses and other nuisances at Jones Point may have goaded the military into a clean up campaign. They drained the marsh near the point and also graveled and graded South Water Street (Lee) which ran to the peninsula.<sup>130</sup>

It was in April 1863 that General J. G. Barnard, Chief of Engineers of the Military Defences of Washington, suggested in a letter to Rear Admiral W. R. Shubrick, Chairman of the Lighthouse Board, that a battery might be built on Jones Point:

Hdq. Chief Engineers of Defenses  
Washington  
April 21, 1863

Rear Admiral W. R. Shubrick  
Chairman of the Light House Board

Sir:

A commission of officers appointed by the Secretary of War to examine a report upon the fortification of Washington recommended the construction of a battery of heavy guns for the River defense on Jones Point just below Alexandria. The report has received the sanction of the Secretary of War as far as to apply to Congress for an appropriation to carry out its recommendations.

I shall have in a few days a survey of the port which will enable me to plan the battery in question, but I can now say that a removal of all the out buildings connected with the light house will be necessary.

The Light House itself (keepers house included) need not, probably be disturbed. The other buildings would be removed some 300 yards to the rear (Northward) of their present location.

I desire to commence the battery very soon, but it would not be immediately necessary to remove the buildings in question.

Very Respectfully

J. G. Barnard  
Brig. Gen. Chief Engineer,  
Dept. of War.<sup>131</sup>

After a change in plans, the fortification which would later be named "Battery Rodgers" was placed to the north of Jones Point, thus sparing the lighthouse buildings. Barnard informed Shubrick that . . .

in consequence of the change of site of proposed work, I now beg leave to notify you that the removal of those buildings is rendered unnecessary.<sup>132</sup>

Possibly at Barnard's request, Jamieson submitted a beautiful sketch of the Jones Point Lighthouse and the surrounding outbuildings to the Lighthouse Board on May 14, 1863. This drawing provides specific details on the dimensions of the buildings and the original is located in the files at the National Archives.<sup>133</sup> The U.S. military authorities again intervened at Jones Point in October 1863, when they procured stones from the site for nearby fortifications. By the end of November the stones which had been removed adjacent to the lighthouse had been replaced.<sup>134</sup>

As Superintendent of Lights, Jamieson continued his oversight activities at Jones Point even though Benjamin Greenwood served as the lighthouse keeper. In his correspondence to the Board, Jamieson refers to the following:

June 18, 1865 — letter concerning salary of the lighthouse keeper

July 13, 1865 — requests permission to do repairs

August 25, 1865 — requests permission to do repairs

December 7, 1866 — letter concerning buoys saved by keeper

November 26, 1867 — received authority to pay keeper for lost buoys

March 21, 1868 — states that pumps at lighthouse are useless — asked for new one with a box

March 31, 1868 — note concerning pump repairs

June 4, 1869 — lighthouse keeper (Greenwood) furnished list of buoys on hand<sup>135</sup>

After the Civil War, Andrew Jamieson was elected president of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and in 1873 he also became the president of the



city's first street railroad. He then removed to New Jersey, but returned to Baltimore, Maryland where he died on October 14, 1901.<sup>136</sup>

*Benjamin Greenwood* — b. 1840 — d. January 9, 1906

Benjamin Greenwood became lighthouse keeper in Alexandria sometime after October 1861 and served in that position for 45 years. Inspection reports to the Board indicate that he was a very efficient employee and quite willing to learn. There was a letter, however, written to the Board on August 2, 1873 requesting that Greenwood be dismissed. The reasons for this request are not known but on August 12, of the same year Commander F. Stanly recommended his retention.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps, there were those in Alexandria who did not like the fact that Greenwood voted Republican. As had been mentioned previously, the position of lighthouse keeper was subject to the winds of political change. If a new administration came to office in Washington, they could dole out the political "spoils" as they saw fit. In fact, Greenwood almost lost his job again in 1888 because of charges that he did not vote the correct way (DEMOCRATIC) in political elections. It was reported that:

An effort is now being made to effect a change in the keeper of the lighthouse at Jones's Point, this city. Mr. Ben Greenwood has held the position for a number of years, but now it is said that charges of offensive partisanship have been preferred against him, and several old democrats are after his position. Affidavits have been prepared setting forth that Mr. Greenwood, at several of the elections during the past few years, has not only been an active politician, but has gone so far as to hold tickets at the First ward polls and try to influence his friends to vote against the democratic nominees. On the other hand, Mr. Greenwood has gotten up a petition, to be forwarded to the Treasury Department, requesting his retention in office which petition has been signed by several well known democrats of the city. The action of the latter in signing petitions to keep republicans in office has caused much comment, and murmurs against the democratic inconsistency are heard among the workers among the party.<sup>138</sup>

Greenwood weathered the political storm and continued in his job until his death in 1906. After the death of his first wife, he remarried in the 1890's and according to some sources sired 17 children during his life.<sup>139</sup> In an interview with Greenwood's daughter, Mrs. Kaddie Jones and a granddaughter, Mrs. Julia Wilkins, in 1966-67, it was recalled that the family kept pigs, horses, and cows on the property. They also mentioned that a garden and several fruit trees were located there.<sup>140</sup>

Upon Greenwood's death in 1906, a petition was circulated for his wife to replace him as the keeper. Some members of the community went to see the President on her behalf:

A delegation had gone to see the President of the U.S. in behalf of Mrs. Greenwood last week and had been notified that she would be appointed to the position provided such appointment did not conflict with the rules governing the good of the service.<sup>141</sup>

This attempt failed and Francis Wilkins was appointed the new keeper on February 24, 1906.

What was daily existence like at Jones Point during the latter half of the nineteenth century? With its rural setting and open spaces, the peninsula became a recreational retreat for Alexandrians. In the 1870s, many couples would promenade there in the evening to escape the heat and humidity of the Virginia summers. Children swam at Battery Cove and in the wintertime people would skate on the frozen river "under the powerful illumination of the beacon light."

Year round, after Sunday morning obligations, citizens would gather in the buoy shed near the Light House. There, while sitting next to a pot bellowed stove when necessary, keeper Benjamin Potter Greenwood would listen to the recollections of those present. They would occasionally partake in a hand or two of poker—would finish off the visit with a bit of Maryland rye (Oxon Creek stills) or of 'Virginia corn'.<sup>142</sup>

Jones Point was not always a haven for picnics and convivial gatherings. It has been the setting for several macabre occurrences. A murder transpired off the point in November 1867. Edward Devlin, a soldier at Ft. Foote, was hit over the head with an oar by 3 colleagues and drowned. Ann R. Greenwood, one of Benjamin's daughters who resided near Battery Rodgers, testified:

On the night of the 7th of November about half past eight o'clock, heard a noise on the river, and going to her door to see if there was not a disturbance at the Lighthouse on Jones Point, saw a boat near the buoy, off the Point and the voice of a man coming from it crying out 'don't drown me; I've been a good soldier and fought for my country like a man.' The next morning witness heard that a soldier had been murdered and supposed the murdered man was the one she had heard entreating for his life.

Julia Greenwood testified next: Lives at the lighthouse on Jones Point. Heard a noise in the river about half past eight o'clock on the night of the 7th of November, but I did not take any pains to discover what occasioned it.<sup>143</sup>

Another ghoulish incident occurred in February 1873, when a dead infant was found there in a box. Infanticide was an all too common occurrence in town:

A small colored boy named Joe Adams, while minding cows near Jones's Point today, found the body of a still-born infant in a cigar-box, which had been thrown in the marsh. He took it to the station house and Dr. O'Brien, acting coroner, was notified. He declined to hold an inquest and the remains were ordered to be buried.<sup>144</sup>

Hunting and fishing were popular pastimes at Jones Point and the river and shore provided fish, small game, duck and other fowl. Men and boys from Alexandria would frequently engage in pigeon and duckshooting contests.<sup>145</sup>

Given the close proximity of the Jones Point Lighthouse to the river, it is not surprising that natural disasters, particularly floods would impinge on the life of Benjamin Greenwood and his family. Mrs. Wilkins, his granddaughter, recalled that during the Johnstown flood:

The Potomac River rose so high that the lower floor of the lighthouse was flooded and the family had to row by boat to the top of Lee street to reach dry land. . . . (She also said) that her grandfather had to light the lamp at sundown and change it by putting in a new lamp at midnight. . . . The lighthouse keeper also took care of boats for Alexandrians who engaged in rowing and sailing on the Potomac in the summer. Many a leading businessman and his family came down to the point for boating, among them the Crillys, Kirks & Creightons.<sup>146</sup>

The point has also been isolated from the mainland by hightides on more than one occasion.<sup>147</sup> On June 29, 1876, mother nature again wreaked her vengeance on the lighthouse when a bolt of lightning struck it. Fortunately, no one was hurt and there was no physical damage.<sup>148</sup>

The Greenwood family was also besieged by additional problems in 1881. The most perplexing of these was a robbery which took place there on September 5:

The Light House on Jones Point was entered by a thief Monday night last and robbed of jewelry and other articles to the value of about \$10. The police are looking for the thief.<sup>149</sup>

The second difficulty was occasioned by the complaint of local citizens that the bridge to the point was in a very bad state of repair. Previously the United States government had made repairs to it and they again undertook the new construction of a road to Jones Point which was finished by December 1881.<sup>150</sup> Further complaints in the summer of 1882 were caused by the odor of hog pens which incited the ire of those who lived in the southern part of town.<sup>151</sup>

*Francis Wilkins* — b. ?; d. December 26, 1919

Wilkins, former keeper of the Cedar Point Lighthouse arrived with his family and their furniture off Jones Point in March 1906.<sup>152</sup> He would serve as the keeper for the next 13 years until his death during the flu epidemic in December 1919. His funeral was held at the Wheatly mortuary chapel and he was survived by his wife and one son named Gordon Wilkins.<sup>153</sup>

During the Wilkins tenure as lighthouse keeper, Jones Point experienced a number of physical changes. Most noticeable was the addition of a front porch to the western side of the lighthouse building.<sup>154</sup> In 1912, a contiguous body of water, called Battery Cove, was filled in by the U.S. Army and enlarged Jones Point to its present size of 40 acres. This new land was later leased to the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation for 12 years and in 1919, the "Gunston Hall", the first vessel was launched from this facility.

A movement to abolish the Lighthouse at the point commenced in February 1913. It was rumored that the old facility would be replaced by a

gas buoy or beacon on the point of land at the north entrance to Hunting Creek.

As is well-known, the government claims the forty acres of reclaimed land lying between the shipyard and Jones's Point, covering what was formerly known as Baptising Cove and in later years as Battery Rodger's Cove and should the claim be sustained by the courts, the government will have possession of all the land from the shipyard to Hunting Creek, as it has since the fifties owned about one half of the neck of ground forming Jones's Point.

The reclaiming of the cove has, of course obliterated the bounds of this strip by merging it with the newly made land on the north.

The lighthouse was erected on its present site in 1858.

The late George Deeton, many of whose descendants now reside in Alexandria, was its first keeper. He was succeeded by Mr. Geisendaffer, father of Mr. Fred Geisendaffer, and during the civil war the late Benj. Greenwood, became keeper, a position he held until his death in 1906. Its present keeper, Mr. Wilkins, was subsequently appointed. . . .<sup>155</sup>

By 1913, there were noticeable complaints about the lewd and lascivious conduct on the part of certain Alexandrians who frequented a floating bar-room off Jones Point. What had once been a favorite place for promenades had deteriorated into a scene of debauchery:

. . . The fact that the ark from which liquors are dispensed is in the river does not seem to be an impassable barrier. The floating salon is owned in Alexandria, is stocked in Alexandria and the owners

cater to Alexandrians and late in the evening bring the ark back to Alexandria.

Last Sunday afternoon while several young ladies of this city were seated near the end of Jones's Point, enjoying what little breeze was stirring several drunken negroes were landed from this ark near where the young women were seated. The language of the negroes was disgusting, and the young women were forced to move away in order to escape their disgraceful actions.

A stroll to Jones's Point in the cool of the evening has almost since the city was chartered been enjoyed by generation after generation. Should no action be taken towards making the place respectable, it will eventually take its place with other well known localities which have long disappeared in Alexandria.<sup>156</sup>

In an attempt to improve navigation along the Potomac, the Commissioner of Light Houses noted in 1918 that the "Jones Point Light Station is of little use on account of change in the shore line at this point."<sup>157</sup> As part of these efforts the light was again changed at the lighthouse to an "unwatched flashing white burning acetylene gas" which flashed every six seconds.<sup>158</sup> After the installation of the gas light and the opening of the Virginia American Shipbuilding Corporation, there was very little for the keeper to do. Thus, the lighthouse had practically become obsolete when the shipyard was constructed on the point in 1919 and with the erection of a 60 foot tower about 100 yards from the old lighthouse site in 1926, Jones Point Lighthouse became a relic of the past.

As part of a package to improve the Potomac River, Congress passed legislation in 1910 and 1911 making appropriations for the "Construction, repair and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors."<sup>159</sup> Included in the legislation was \$56,000 worth of funds for river improvements at Alexandria.<sup>160</sup> Commencing in 1910, a riprap wall was erected on the Potomac River at Battery Cove from Lee Street south of Franklin Street to the end of Jones Point. As mud and debris were dredged from the riverbed, they were utilized to fill in the cove. Actual work on the wall began September 6, 1910, and was completed April 26, 1911. Filling and dredging started on March 4, 1911 and terminated December 29, 1912.<sup>161</sup>

After the completion of the project, the federal government placed a fence around the newly created land. As a result of this work, approximately 46½ acres of man-made land were added to the area adjacent to the old Jones Point peninsula.<sup>162</sup> A dispute soon developed over this real estate. In January 1912, the Marine Railroad and Coal Co. broke down the fence and the government brought suit against them in July. The extensive litigation which resulted revolved around the question of who owned the Alexandria waterfront. The proceedings were too complicated

and lengthy to be broached in this inquiry but the federal government eventually secured possession of the disputed site. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, several shipyards were constructed under private contract. One of these was situated at Jones Point.

## Groton Iron Works and the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation

On December 7, 1917, the U.S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation negotiated a contract with the Groton Iron Works of Connecticut to construct 12 metal vessels, each costing \$1,504,000.<sup>163</sup> Provisions of this contract required that the first vessel be completed October 7, 1918, and the last on April 7, 1919.<sup>164</sup> Another contract was also entered into with the American Ship Building Corporation on January 2, 1918.<sup>165</sup> The company would later change its name to the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation and it had a working capital of \$10,000,000. Officers of the firm included:

... President, Colin H. Livingstone; vice president and general manager, B.W. Morse; second vice president, E.O. Cutler; secretary, F. Harrison Higgins; assistant secretary T.A. Sherman; treasurer, W. J. Marin; assistant treasurer, R.M. Much.

Directors:—C.W. Morse, C.H. Livingstone, B.W. Morse, H.F. Morse; E.A. Morse, Davis Elkins, George W. Loft, William Guggenheim, Wilton J. Lambert, R. Lanchester Williams, Edward B. McLean, J.R. Meany.<sup>166</sup>

Fred T. Ley and Company of Springfield Massachusetts were responsible for the actual construction of the shipbuilding facilities and on February 1, 1917, the first pile was driven for the yard structures.<sup>167</sup>

The original plans called for 6 shipyards, 1 story 400 by 212 foot fabricating shop; 200 x 75 foot machine shop; 2 story 125 x 60 foot blacksmith shop; 2 story 125 x 60 foot joiner shop; 1 story 125 x 50 foot coppersmith shop; 1 story 150 x 60 foot carpenter shop; 1 story 250 x 75 foot storehouse, waterworks, sewer system, power for 6 shipways, track, etc.<sup>168</sup> By June 1919, the following buildings and structures were on the site:

Fabricating shop—Concrete pile with reinforced concrete capped foundation; steel frame, wooden sidings and roof, 215 foot by 450 foot. Three bays: Middle, 50 foot; side, 80 foot each. Construction started February 1, 1918; completed June 1, 1918.

The mold loft, 132 foot by 450 foot is directly over the Fabricating Shop.



Administration Building—Brick on concrete pile foundation; two stories. Length, 120 foot by breadth 55 foot. Construction began February 25, 1918; completed April 30, 1918.

Commissary—Wood frame structure, 180 foot by 120 foot. Capacity 2,500 men simultaneously seated. Construction began March 22, 1918, completed June 3, 1918.

Other buildings follow: Acetylene gas house, blacksmith shop, electricians and niggers' shop, yard employment office, yard time office, joiner's shop, machine shop, metal workers' shop, paint shop, pneumatic tool house, power house, store house, yard office dispensary, galvanizing shop, garage.

With the exception of four of the smaller yard offices, all the above buildings are of brick or concrete on concrete pile foundations.<sup>169</sup>

The domestic peace and quietude which had characterized the environs at Jones Point in the 18th and 19th century was shattered as thousands of men congregated there to help America win the war against the "Huns". In a patriotic address delivered on March 18, 1918, B.W. Morse, Vice President of the Corporation beseeched his employees to work for victory:

Fellow Workmen; We are engaged in a patriotic work: But I fear that we do not realize its great importance. The success of the war depends in very great measure upon ships with which to transport the men to fight across the water. . . . It is to impress your minds the great necessity for patriotic co-operation on your part that we have brought to you today men who will tell you of the necessity for you to do the work in which you are here engaged.<sup>170</sup>

The first headquarters for the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation was located in the Wagar Apartments until it was later removed to the new administration building near Franklin Street in April 1918.<sup>171</sup>

Thousands of Alexandrians crowded the waterfront in an impressive ceremony on May 30, 1918, as President Woodrow Wilson and his official retinue visited Jones Point to drive the first rivet in the first steel ship to be built at the shipbuilding yards. A description of this historic event is certainly worthy of inclusion:

. . . President Wilson engaged in a new occupation yesterday—that of building ships—and being a Virginian by birth it was but natural that he should return to his native state to take up his new vocation . . . In the presence of hundreds of invited guests, including distinguished senators, representatives and other officials of the government as well as prominent people of Washington and Alexandria, President Wilson . . . drove the first rivet in the keel of the first of 12 steamships . . .



'I haven't my card, but I suppose it will be all right,' remarked the President to Mr. Charles W. Morse, just after he had finished his part of the work.'

'Yes, replied Mr. Morse, I don't think anyone will object.'

The hearty cheers that were given the President a moment or two afterwards by the crowd indicated that all were highly pleased with the expert manner in which he had carried out his part of the motto adopted by the shipbuilding corporation of 'More Tons - Less Huns.'

A few moments before the President drove the rivet, the first lady of the land was accorded the honor of naming the ship. Placing her hand upon the vertical steel plate of the keel, Mrs. Wilson said: 'I christen thee 'Gunston Hall.'

The ship will pass into history as a famous craft for three reasons, that it was given its name by the wife of the President of the U.S. and it was named after the historic home of George Mason and it will be the first great ocean going steamship to be launched on the Potomac River at this place.

. . . The Presidential party arrived at the shipyard at 3:35, motoring over from Arlington cemetery, where the President had attended Decoration day exercises. They were met by Representative Charles C. Carlin upon their arrival at the shipyard, who presided as master of ceremonies, also Senator Martin of Virginia and Mr. Colin H. Livingston, president of the Shipbuilding Corporation. . . .

Mr. Carlin at once escorted the President and Mrs. Wilson upon the gayly decorated concrete ways where the keel plate was in readiness to be placed in position. Workmen soon had the red hot rivet ready . . . The pneumatic gun, as it is termed was placed in the President's hands and as he pressed his thumb on the trigger the loud rat-a-tat-tat of the little trip hammer announced that the rivet was being speeded home. Suddenly the President's thumb slipped off. 'Keep on,' said Mr. Mooney. The thumb went quickly back to its place and the job was completed in much less time than is required to tell it here. . . .

Mrs. Wilson, who stood close by, smilingly turned to Assistant Treasurer R.W. Much and remarked: 'The President did very well, didn't he' 'Yes,' replied Mr. Much, 'he is all right.'

Asked if a picture might be taken of him, the President said: 'Yes, I am not camera-shy.' . . .

There was no speaking and the entire exercises were quickly at an end. Just before leaving the ways to return to their automobiles, the American Indian Guard band, which was stationed near, played the 'Star Spangled Banner', after which President Collin H. Livingstone, of the shipbuilding corporation called for cheers for the President and Mrs. Wilson, which were given with a will by the crowd, following which the Presidential party started on the homeward trip to Washington. They were accompanied by the usual number of secret service officials . . .

After the departure of President and Mrs. Wilson, who were unable to remain for a longer period, refreshments including some delicious punch, of a brand strictly in keeping with Virginia's temperance law, also sandwiches and cigars, were served to many of the guests from Washington in the administration building.

Among the more prominent of those who witnessed the ceremonies of laying the keel were: The Honorable Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives; former Speaker Joe Cannon, Senator Thomas S. Martin of Virginia; Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, of Florida, chairman of the Waterways committee; Charles W. Morse, of New York, president of the United States Steamship Co., . . .<sup>172</sup>

The Virginia Shipbuilding yard was the 4th largest concrete and steel shipyard to be built in the world. It was constructed in 85 days, considered a record. Initially the yard employed 1,500 men but several months later as many as 7,000 workers were on its payroll. Responsibility for having the mammoth complex situated in Alexandria can be attributed to the efforts of Congressman C.C. Carlin.

By June, 1918, it was noted that the keels for several more vessels had been laid.<sup>173</sup> In total, contracts were let for the completion of 9 vessels. These included:

Name	Date
Betsy Bell	21 Sept. 1919
Gunston Hall	21 Aug.
Vanada	16 Sept.
H.F. Morse	23 Oct.
E.A. Morse	7 Jan. 1920
Clemence C. Morse	12 March
Jennie R. Morse	15 April
Anna E. Morse	13 July
Colvin H. Livingstone	30 Oct. <sup>174</sup>

The launching of a vessel at Jones Point was the occasion for wild celebration as Alexandrians flocked to the peninsula for the festivities. The

“Gunston Hall” was the first to glide into the magnificent Potomac river on February 23, 1919:

... Mrs. B.W. Morse Christens Ship—Breaks Bottle of Champagne Over the Bow as Big vessel Takes to the Water as if She were in her Element—With Flags Flying, Bands Playing and Sirens Shrieking it was a Gala Event—Luncheon Was Served to Six Hundred Guests in Commissary Following Launching.

Cheered by 10,000 voices, with bands playing and whistles let loose the big steel 9,400 ton freighter Gunston Hall left the ways at the plant of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon . . .

... The launching was one of the most successful, in annals of American shipbuilding, there was not a single hitch.

The Gunston Hall was a flutter with flags and at a set notice Mrs. Morse did the christening . . .

Weather conditions were ideal for the event. Practically all of Alexandria took occasion to visit the yards, the gates of which were thrown open to the public. Several thousand persons from Washington also were on hand to witness the event. A number of airplanes hovered about the scene. . . .

... The boat has 9,400 dead weight tons. It is 402 feet six inches and has a beam of 53 feet. It is an oil burner and will be equipped with reciprocating engines developing 2,500 horsepower, giving the ship a guaranteed speed of 10 and one-half knots an hour. The Gunston Hall is the first modern steel vessel ever launched in the Potomac and the largest ever built on the banks of this historic stream.<sup>175</sup>

As with any organization, the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation experienced its share of problems. No doubt the most serious of these were caused by several large fires which nearly demolished the entire plant. The first occurred on March 28, 1919, just one month after the Gunston Hall had been launched. A spectacular fire which caused \$40,000 worth of damage started in the coppersmith shop and burned vigorously for several hours.<sup>176</sup> The fire department was handicapped by a lack of water and when they arrived on the scene they found the building, a one story brick structure “... in a mass of flames.” In the process of fighting the blaze, two firemen were injured and the “Gunston Hall” was seriously threatened. Another fire on September 12, 1921, did \$200,000 worth of damage to a warehouse.<sup>177</sup>

The blaze at the shipyard threatened to wipe out the entire plant consisting of 22 buildings, all brick and metal structures. The 9,400

ton steel freighter George M. Morse, valued at \$2,000,000, was in the water at the Company dock within a hundred yards of the burned building . . . Directly south of the burned building was the immense fabricating building at the yards . . . The tool paint and copper shops and power houses of the company and other buildings were in close proximity to the burned structure.

The burned building was 160 by 100 foot and of brick concrete and steel construction with glass sides, . . . In this building was stored every piece of equipment necessary for the completion of the interior of the George M. Morse which included brass, steel, life preservers, pillows, blankets, nautical instruments and a host of other things.

. . . The fire apparently came up all of a sudden and may have been burning for some time before it broke out.

Even more catastrophic than the fires was a series of scandalous administrative and financial incidents which arose at the plant. As early as October 1918, a U.S. Shipping Board examiner criticized the operation of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation and ordered that, "No more contracts shall be given to the Va. S.B."<sup>178</sup> Friction between the Government and the corporation became so intense that the V.S.B. sued the United States Shipbuilding Board over construction cost of the 12 contracted vessels. They asserted that the suit was the outcome of financial losses suffered by them as a result of reduced prices for the contracted ships.<sup>179</sup> Further financial malaise stalked the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation when they were forced to file a petition of bankruptcy on April 11, 1921, for \$11,000,000.<sup>180</sup> Charges of financial impropriety and fraud were brought by the United States Government against them in 1922. Charles W. Morse, three of his sons and eight of his associates were indicted in the District of Columbia Supreme Court on February 28, 1922:

War contracts, it was officially stated at the Shipping Board aggregating \$40,000,000 had been awarded to the Morse Company, upon which \$37,000,000 was advanced by the government. Of the latter sum, it was stated many millions had been misappropriated by the contractors. . . .

The charges made are that the men obtained money from the Shipping Board by making false statements regarding the value of plant equipment, that funds deposited to the credit of the various companies for ship construction were used in plant building, that false reports were made regarding progress on construction of ships and funds obtained. . . .

An additional charge is made that certain plant equipment and material was sold without the authority of the Shipping Board and

the proceeds retained by Morse and other officers of the company.

The alleged shady transactions are said to have covered a period extending from June 1917 when Morse was first awarded a contract to build wooden ships until May, 1921, when the U.S. Transport Company was in full operation using ships built at the Groton and Alexandria plants of the Groton Iron Works. . . .

. . . The indictments which charged the twelve men with having diverted government funds to their own use were presented in connection with certain transactions of the alleged conspirators whereby more than \$5,000,000 was obtained from the Shipping Board since 1917. . . .

Besides Morse the following were indicted: Colin Livingston, president of the National Boy Scouts of America and prominent local banker; W.W. Scott, local attorney; Geo. N. Burdette, N.Y. attorney, Rupert M. Much, former treasurer of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation, L.A. Christie, Nehemiah Campbell of N.Y., Philip Reinhardt of Baltimore, former government auditor stationed at the Alexandria plant . . .<sup>181</sup>

As a result of these allegations, what had initially been a financial boon for Alexandria degenerated into an unsavory quagmire of fraud and conspiracy.

After World War I, the facilities of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation fell into a state of disrepair. The plant suspended operation and one by one the buildings were destroyed in piecemeal fashion. All that remains of this once prestigious operation at Jones Point are vestiges of one old brick building and a few vine covered concrete sluices. As Walt Whitman once wrote: "The grass covers all."

After Jones Point was declared "unused and unproductive" by the United States government in 1926, the Mount Vernon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution spearheaded efforts to have the old lighthouse saved. Organized on May 13, 1983, by Miss Susan Rivere, the chapter has been extremely active in preservation activities throughout the state.<sup>182</sup>

On June 11, 1926, J. Walter Drake, Acting Secretary of Commerce transferred the Jones Point Lighthouse site to the chapter. Provisions of the deed specified that the Daughters "maintain the reservation, including the Boundary Stone marking the original southern corner of the District of Columbia located thereon in a safe and proper condition for historic purposes."<sup>183</sup> Shortly afterwards, efforts were undertaken to rehabilitate the old lighthouse structure:

The ladies painted it inside and out, polished floors, put in chintz-covered furniture and planted roses on the repaired picket fence. Several meetings and card parties were then held and more than \$1,000 raised for repairs.<sup>184</sup>

The chapter then rented out the building to Mrs. McMahon who used it as a studio for her Sport Doll factory. In March 1932, the lighthouse was painted at a cost of \$113.85. Later in 1934, it sustained flood damage which necessitated repairs to the steps and seawall.<sup>185</sup>

The Washington Quartermaster Depot seized portions of Jones Point on October 23, 1929, and placed a radio transmitter there.<sup>186</sup> Under army occupation, the military constructed fences adjacent to the lighthouse which forced the tenant caretaker to vacate the premises. This severely limited the D.A.R.'s access to the site. As a result of damage during the occupation, the chapter collected funds from the Franklin Fire Insurance Company in June 1940.<sup>187</sup>

With the advent of World War II, the U.S. army seized all of Jones Point and fenced it off. The signal corp continued to operate a transmitting station nearby. By 1944, the ownership of the lighthouse site had reverted back to the government and the D.A.R. experienced innumerable difficulties in trying to maintain it. On one occasion, Mrs. Robert Reese, chairman of the committee to investigate the lighthouse, marched up to the tall fence gate "demanding to inspect the old site. Even though she had a Defense Department pass, the guard pointed a gun at her until she backed off."<sup>188</sup> It was some of these same soldiers who later in the war riddled the lighthouse with bullets. One of them said: "Why a few of the boys got a little bored and took some target practice at that old building. We didn't think it was good for anything."<sup>189</sup>

Despite all the military security, however, a pageant commemorating the 150th anniversary of the laying of the first cornerstone of the District of Columbia was held at Jones Point on April 15, 1941. Members of the Washington Lodge No. 22, visiting Masons and members of the Washington Society participated in the affair.<sup>190</sup>

After World War II, the signal corp relinquished control of Jones Point in 1953. During its 17 years occupation, it had been extremely reluctant to permit anyone to pass through its gates. As a result, the lighthouse had fallen into a terrible state of disrepair and occasional plunderers, landing by boat, had removed parts of the woodwork. The Mt. Vernon Chapter was hard pressed to make the necessary repairs caused by the military occupation and other examples of flagrant vandalism.<sup>191</sup>

Congressman Howard Worth Smith introduced legislation in Congress on February 8, 1951, to compensate the D.A.R. \$9,078.00 for its settlement of claims against the United States.<sup>192</sup> Unfortunately, the legislation failed to pass. Later, Congressman Joel Broyhill representing Alexandria also introduced legislation in 1953 which would have wedded the peninsula to

the city. He secured the pledge of Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson for assistance in waiving claims by the Defense Department to Jones Point.<sup>193</sup> Even though the signal corp had given up its rights, the Army Medical center in Washington retained use of three buildings on the point. Alexandria Mayor Marshall J. Beverly urged that Jones Point be converted into a War Veterans Memorial Park which would honor all of Alexandria's war dead from the American Revolution to Korea. He also proposed utilizing sections of the park as a site for sewage disposal and as a site to relieve overcrowding among municipal departments.<sup>194</sup> No action was taken on these recommendations.

In 1957, members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee under the co-chairmanship of Donald Simpson and Wm. Dwyer to investigate the possibility of restoring the aged lighthouse.<sup>195</sup> Earlier in May, an 80 men division of naval seabees reservists who met once a week for naval reserve training at Jones Point, undertook to do repair work at the lighthouse as a training project. Funds for this endeavor were to be raised by the Jones Point Lighthouse restoration committee, a civic organization headed by Col. H.S. Outwater.<sup>196</sup>

After 38 years of caring for the lighthouse, the D.A.R. signed an agreement with the National Capital Park Service to take over the structure in 1964, with the provision that the area be turned into a park. "A 49 acre Jones Point Park to be completed in 1966 at a cost of at least \$29,000 was planned. . . .

It was to have . . . a pleasant atmosphere of trees & shrubbery . . . grassy nooks, shaded benches, trails and footpaths for the enjoyment of the public . . . The park would extend north-south from the General Services Administration warehouse at the foot of Franklin to Hunting Creek and eastwest from the Potomac River to Yeates Garden.<sup>197</sup>

It was hoped that the park could be expanded to eventually include the seven acres which the Naval Reserve Training Station occupied. The navy expected to move their facilities to Anacostia in 1978. After the initial excitement generated by the press, the park service did very little and the area remained a graveyard of broken bottles, trash, bottlecaps and weeds.

The local Jaycees proposed in 1967 that a Tourist-Civic Center be constructed at Jones Point which would be operated by a non-profit organization. Again, nothing came of this proposal.<sup>198</sup>

After the navy removed to Anacostia, the Alexandria Police Department established a shooting-range on Jones Point. The range was located to the left of the lighthouse and the police would shoot 5 days a week under strict supervision. Complaints by the Northern Virginia Conservation Council in 1969 succeeded in terminating this activity and in April 1970 bulldozers leveled the southern embankments which had served as a backdrop for the



range.<sup>199</sup> The conservation group also emphasized that Jones Point should serve as a wildlife habitat and breeding ground for birds and fish that were rare to the Potomac River.<sup>200</sup>

In 1971, Alexandria city officials and area residents were angered when it was learned that the Department of the Interior had approved a permit for a soccer field and planned to turn a portion of Jones Point over to the Smithsonian to utilize it as a museum.<sup>201</sup> Residents were worried about the increase in congestion caused by the soccer games while city officials were disappointed that they had not been able to purchase the peninsula.

A study by the city recreation department in 1974 had proposed Jones Point as the only logical place for a park to be established for residents of the eastern section of the city. The study recommended: (1) a 500 car parking lot with an entrance on Royal street; (2) 2 picnic groves with tables and grills; (3) a concession house for bike rentals; (4) neighborhood park areas for softball, football and soccer and 3 piers for viewing the river.<sup>202</sup> At the time, it was estimated that it would cost the city \$2.5 million for an outright purchase of the site.

The U.S. Naval Reserve Center at Jones Point was closed in 1978.<sup>203</sup> Soon afterwards, in December 1979, the U.S. Army Reserves took over the facility:

Neighbors seem really glad that we moved in, said center coordinator Sgt. Lewis Woodland.

We've had a lot of looking, but no complaints.

About 100 members of the reserves' 80th training division, a weapons company and boat company will be running maneuvers along the river at the center located off Franklin and South Lee Streets.

The weapons divisions commanding officer Maj. John Myers, said he plans to drill his unit in the area this weekend . . .<sup>204</sup>

On May 1, 1980, Jones Point was named a Virginia historic landmark and nominated for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.<sup>205</sup> Still, it was not properly maintained by the National Park Service. It had again become a polluters paradise:

Six years after a citizen-sponsored cleanup drive the last open space in the old historic district of Alexandria is a . . . lumpy graveyard of scrap metal, wood and concrete piles, detergent and beer bottles and pasturized cheese spread cans.

At last count a string of 13 tires graced the sandy mouth of Hunting Creek on the south side of the park.

Three unknown vagrants or adventurous teenagers have built themselves a fully complete bungalow complete with cushioned bench, bridge chair and crude potbellowed stove.

Labelled the “hut” with a black felt marker, the L shape hovel is graced with an array of colorful imported beer caps.

Except for 2 green soccer fields and a parking lot, the rest of the 60 acres—entirely owned and managed by the federal government—is apparently reserved for the likes of Tarzan, its neglected passages wind in overgrowth.

Vines choke mature trees, grass is unmowed and uprooted trees are left to decay. On the east side of the park the lighthouse stands in disrepair. . . .

On the west side of the park, steps and cracked concrete boat slips dating back to the days of W.W. I lie defiantly on the water like open tombs.

City and federal officials turned the dingy Jones Point into a political football this week when asked about its future.

‘ . . . If I were the National Park Service, I’d really be embarrassed by it, said city planning and development director Engin Artemel . . . ’

‘ . . . City Manager Douglas Harman expressed disdain for the hut . . . and a recently erected chain link fence around the park. . . . They never consulted us. They never said they would put it there. It makes the point look like a concentration camp. Harman scoffed . . . ’

Jack Benjamin, a spokesman for the Park Service, the agency which bought Jones Point in bits and pieces between 1945 and 1975 dismissed Harman’s charges as spurious.<sup>206</sup>

Acrimonious commentary between the parties continued to fill the air, but the publicity sparked the Park Service to send crews to Jones Point to remove litter, garbage and tangled underbrush.<sup>207</sup> The incident also spurred the city of Alexandria to suggest joint federal/city maintenance of the park. Jim Chasnavitz, the city landscape architect, “said the city would clean up trash and debris particularly along the rivers edge. In the area south of the bridge trees would be pruned to improve the view of the river. Areas to the north of the lighthouse would be set aside for parking.”<sup>208</sup>

City manager Douglas Harman proposed making Jones Point into a passive recreational park in March 1982. Under his plan several changes would be implemented. These included:

1. a new access to the area via Royal street
2. building a bike trail across battery cove to connect all near-by-trails
3. clean up the site of a turn of the century shipyard, inclusion of a picnic area and restoration of the lighthouse.
4. construction of a pedestrian walkway and fishing area on the Potomac River bulkhead.<sup>209</sup>

The Alexandria City Planning Commission concurred in these proposals in June and suggested a joint federal/city maintenance program.<sup>210</sup>

By September 1982, the Park Service agreed to let the city operate Jones Point as a park for one year and requested that it come up with a master plan for the site.<sup>211</sup> The maintenance of Jones Point still left much to be desired:

... just outside the park the neglected army reserve buildings squat under the Wilson Bridge, windows shattered by vandals, weeds choking the fences, scraps of paper and crushed beer cans litter the ground.<sup>212</sup>

Tragedy nearly struck in November when fire erupted on the second floor of the lighthouse. The speedy response of the Alexandria fire department contained the blaze and no serious structural damage was sustained.<sup>213</sup>

As the city's lease to Jones Point drew to a close in June, 1984, there were rumors that the General Services Administration would recommend that the peninsula be open to residential development. This proposal so infuriated Mayor Beatley that he said he would lead a march on Congress to stop the federal government from turning a 50 acre waterfront park into a residential development.<sup>214</sup> To prohibit such an occurrence, Engin Artemel recommended that the area be re-zoned which would stop townhouse construction.<sup>215</sup>

The status of Jones Point was still in limbo during the later half of 1983. Three federal jurisdictions maintained control of the area—the National Park Service owned most of the land while the Department of Transportation controlled the real estate under the Wilson Bridge and the army owned the reserve buildings.<sup>216</sup>

Alexandria's plan to have Jones Point made a park was rejected by the National Park Service in September 1983. They suggested the city re-submit another proposal. Undaunted by these negative developments, the Mt. Vernon Chapter of the D.A.R. placed a new bronze marker on the site of the original boundary stone which was laid in 1791. "Regents from local and National chapter of the D.A.R.; Mayor Charles E. Beatley, Jr.; Mrs. Harrison Kemper, chairman of the Jones Point Park Committee and officials of the Alexandria chapter of the George Washington Masonic National Park attended."<sup>217</sup> The chapter also dedicated a monument to

Mistress Margaret Brent, first patent holder of land on which the city of Alexandria was later built. Twenty years after the Park Service had assumed control of Jones Point there was discussion of leasing the lighthouse back to the D.A.R. who wanted to turn the structure into a museum.<sup>218</sup>

Whatever the future may hold for Jones Point, it is a valuable socio-cultural link to Alexandria's past. It is the saga of a revolutionary war fort, the laying of the cornerstone of the District of Columbia, the Jones Tavern, a commercial ropewalk, a beaming lighthouse, a nineteenth century recreational retreat, a vibrant shipyard and the chronicle of numerous Alexandrians who have walked its shoreline and played their part in a drama that is Alexandria's history.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>. David M. French, *The Brent Families of Colonial Maryland*, (Alexandria, Virginia, 1981), p. 42, 43.

<sup>2</sup>. Edith Sprouse, *Potomac Sampler—An Historical Index to the Mount Vernon Area*, (Alexandria, Virginia, 1961), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>. T. Michael Miller, *Alexandria's Forgotten Legacy—The Annals of Wm. F. Carne*, (Alexandria, Virginia, 1984), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup>. See: Berry's Map, "Alexandria, Va.", 1741; Jeremiah Hampton & Ferdinand O'Neal's survey of 1746; Wm. B. McGroarty, "The Washington Society of Alexandria", *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 3, (Jan. 1928), p. 147.

<sup>6</sup>. Fairfax Harrison, "Western Explorations in Virginia Between Lederer and Spotswood," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 30, p. 328, 329.

<sup>7</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>8</sup>. See: *Prince William County Land Causes-1789*—deposition of Charles Jones; Minnie Kindall Louther, *Marshall Hall and Other Points of Interest*, Library of Congress; Edith Moore Sprouse, *Potomac Sampler*, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>9</sup>. T. Michael Miller, *Alexandria's Forgotten Legacy*, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>10</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 125-127.

<sup>11</sup>. Joseph B. Mitchell, "The Price of Independence," in *Alexandria—A Composite History*, eds. Elizabeth Hambleton & Marian Van Landingham, (Alexandria: The Alexandria Bi-Centennial Commission, 1975), p. 62, 63.

<sup>12</sup>. *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Naval History Division, 1972), Vol. 6, p. 742.

<sup>13</sup>. Mary S. Powell, *The History of Old Alexandria, Virginia*, (Richmond, Va.: The William Byrd Press, Inc., 1928), p. 192.

<sup>14</sup>. George Mason, *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792*, ed. Robert A. Rutland, (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina, 1970), Vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>15</sup>. Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1951), Vol. 4, p. 169.

<sup>16</sup>. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 336.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 612.
19. Richard Peters, ed., *Public Statutes at Large of the United States from the organization of the Government in 1799 to March 3, 1845*, (Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1845), Vol. I, p. 345.
20. Sherwin McRae & Raleigh Colston, eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, (Richmond: J.H. O'Bannon, 1888), Vol. VII, P. 92, 93.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 93, 94, 95.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
23. "Governor Lee to Colonels Fitzgerald & Little, 19 April, 1794," Virginia State Archives, Executive Letter Book, Microfilm Reel 4, p. 408.
24. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 111.
25. George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office), Vol. 33, p. 323, 324.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 164.
27. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 95.
28. "John Fitzgerald to Governor of Virginia, 29 April 1794," Executive Papers, Extract, Virginia State Archives.
29. James R. Hinds, "Potomac River Defenses—The First 20 Years", *Periodical—Council on Abandoned Military Posts—U.S.A.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Fall 1973, p. 2.
30. *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. VII, p. 186.
31. "A Copy of Letters from John Vermonnet to the Secretary of War respecting Fortifications," *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, (Washington: Gales & Seaton, 1832-1861), p. 94.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 94, 95.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
34. "Governor to Secretary of War, 2 July 1794." Executive Letter Books, Virginia State Archives, Microfilm, Reel 4, p. 454-55.
35. *American State Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 111, 141.
36. *Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, March 6, 1800.
37. "Jonathan Williams to Secretary of War, February 13, 1808," War Department, Chief of Engineers, Buell's Collection 58510/134, National Archives.

Note: Although the fortification at Jones Point was built by Vermonnet, he was acting under Mr. Rivardi's supervision:

"I should have been happy, had an earlier opportunity occurred for your employment; but an offer is now made to you, to direct the works at Alexandria and Annapolis, provided the law which is now under consideration, should pass relatively to the latter place.

Alexandria has been previously assigned to Mr. Rivardi; and therefore, in case you accept the offer now made, you will, in case of his coming to Alexandria, work under his orders, and in concurrence with them. Annapolis will be assigned to you entirely; . . .

*American State Papers*, *op. cit.* p. 93.

38. Roy C. Allen, "Fixing the Permanent Seat of Government on the Potomac River," (unpublished paper, Univ. of Md., 1969), Lloyd House Library, 975.301 ALL, p. 4.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
45. Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), p. 311.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
47. Roy C. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
48. Frederick E. Woodward, "The Recovery of the Southern Cornerstone of the District," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 18, p. 16.
49. John Clagett Proctor, "Ceremony at Jones Point," *Washington Evening Star*, Nov. 8, 1936.
50. *Virginia Journal & Alexandria Advertiser*, April 21, 1791, reprinted in the *Md. Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, April 26, 1791, copy at Library of Congress.
51. Frederick E. Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 21.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
53. *Alexandria Gazette*, April 13, 1921, p. 1.
54. "Alexander Family" in *Genealogies of Virginia Families*, from the *William & Mary Quarterly*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), Vol. I, p. 34, 35.
55. Alexandria Deedbook F, p. 63.
56. *Ibid.*
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58. Fairfax County Deedbook Z, p. 87.
59. *Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, March 6, 1800, p. 3.
60. "Medical Life in Early Alexandria",—Speech by T. Michael Miller before the Alexandria Historical Society, October 26, 1983. See: Historical Society Tapes, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House and Alexandria—Medicine—Verticle Files.
61. *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. VIII, p. 519, 520.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 520, 521.
63. Alexandria Deedbook C2, p. 98.
64. Frederick Tilp, *This Was Potomac River*, (Alexandria, Va.; 1978), p. 82.; *Alexandria Gazette*, September 24, 1858, p. 3.
65. National Archives and Records Service, "Fourth Census of the United States—1820—District of Columbia, incl. The City & County of Alexandria." (Washington, D.C.: General Service Administration, 1976.) Reel No. 5, p. 160.
66. *Alexandria Gazette*, November 8, 1817.
67. Alexandria Deedbook G2, p. 83.
68. *Alexandria Gazette*, July 8, 1818, p. 3.
69. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1819, p. 3.
70. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1819, p. 3.
71. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1820, p. 3.
72. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1827, p. 4.
73. Alexandria Deedbook W2, p. 71.
74. "Ropewalks," *Encyclopedia Americana International Edition*, (Danbury Conn: Grober Inc., 1980), Vol. 7, p. 785.

- <sup>75</sup>. *Ibid.*; For a more detailed description of the operation of a ropewalk see: Robert Chapman, *A Treatise on Ropemaking as Practiced in Private and Public Ropeyards*, (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1858.)
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- <sup>77</sup>. See Appendix.
- <sup>78</sup>. *American Industry and Manufactures in the 19th Century*, (Elmford, N.Y.: Maxwell Reprint Co.), Vol. 2, p. 168.
- <sup>79</sup>. Nicholas F. Veloz, Jr., *Butcher, Baker, Candlestick Maker, the 1810 Census & Personal Property Tax Rolls For Alexandria, Va.*, 1978.
- <sup>80</sup>. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large*; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619, (Richmond: The Franklin Press, 1820), Vol. 10, p. 384.
- <sup>81</sup>. Fairfax County Deedbook P2, p. 200.
- <sup>82</sup>. Ruth Lincoln Kaye, *The First 52 Years of St. Paul's Episcopal Church: 1809-1861*, (Alexandria, Va.: 1979)
- <sup>83</sup>. Cary White Avery, *Genealogical Records*, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House, p. 219.
- <sup>84</sup>. Ethelyn Cox, *Street by Street*, (Alexandria, Va.; Historic Alexandria Foundation, 1976), p. 108.
- <sup>85</sup>. Mary S. Powell, *op cit.* p. 338.
- <sup>86</sup>. *Alexandria Gazette*, June 24, 1887, p. 3. in T. Michael Miller's, "Gleanings from the Gazette—Alexandria Vicissitudes", (unpublished work).
- <sup>87</sup>. *Ibid.*
- <sup>88</sup>. Fairfax County Deedbook D3, p. 364.
- <sup>89</sup>. *Alexandria Gazette*, March 12, 1853, p. 3.
- <sup>90</sup>. Cary White Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- <sup>91</sup>. *Alexandria Gazette*, September 29, 1847, p. 2.
- <sup>92</sup>. "Old St. John's, An Old Student—No. 4", *The Academy Journal* (Alexandria, Va.: Marriott Hill & Co.), June 3, 1873, p. 1, Alexandria Library, Lloyd House.
- <sup>93</sup>. Robert de Gast, *The Light Houses of the Chesapeake*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973, p. 2.
- <sup>94</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 3.; Stephen Lewis, *Historical Report—Jones Point Lighthouse*, (unpublished rough draft, 1963), p. 6.
- <sup>95</sup>. Stephen Lewis, *Historical Report*, *op. cit.* p. 2; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, X, 116, Sec. 1.
- <sup>96</sup>. A.D. Buche to Board, Oct. 26, 1852; Jos. Eaches to Board, Nov. 15, 1852, Index Slips, National Archives, R.G. 26.
- <sup>97</sup>. Jos. Eaches to the Board, Feb. 5, 1853, Index Slips, National Archives, R.G. 26.
- <sup>98</sup>. H.H. Douglas, "The Unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap R.R.", *Echoes of History*, Vol. 5, No. 4, (Nov. 1975,) p. 6.
- <sup>99</sup>. *Alexandria Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1854, p. 3.
- <sup>100</sup>. H.H. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- <sup>101</sup>. William B. Hurd, *Alexandria Virginia, 1861-1865*, (Alexandria, Virginia: 1961), p. 30.
- <sup>102</sup>. "Act Ceding Jones Point to U.S. By the State of Virginia" Jones Point File, Va. No. 18, National Archives, R.G. No. 26.
- <sup>103</sup>. *Ibid.*
- <sup>104</sup>. Alexandria Deedbook O3, p. 493.



105. Wm. H. Irvin to L.H.B., Nov. 5, 1853; Edward Green to L.H.B., Nov. 19 1853; Edward Green to L.H.B., Nov. 25, 1853; Index Slips, National Archives, R.G. 26.
106. Alexandria Deedbook O3, p. 493.
107. Jones Point File, Va., No. 18, National Archives, R.G. 26
108. E. Green to L.H.B., May 7, 1855; Caleb Cushing to L.H.B., July 13, 1855, Index Slips, National Archives, R.G. 26.
109. "Caleb Cushing, Attorney General to James Guthrie, Sec. of the Treasury, 13 July 1855", Jones Point File, Va. National Archives, R.G. 26.
110. *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1854, p. 3.
111. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1880, p. 3.
112. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1881, p. 3.
113. *Alexandria Gazette*, August 27, 1855, p. 2.
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116. "Jones Point," *Historic American Building Survey*, Alexandria Library. Lloyd House, Microfiche No. 22.
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# The Hunter-Gatherer I Period: Fairfax County 9,000 Years Ago

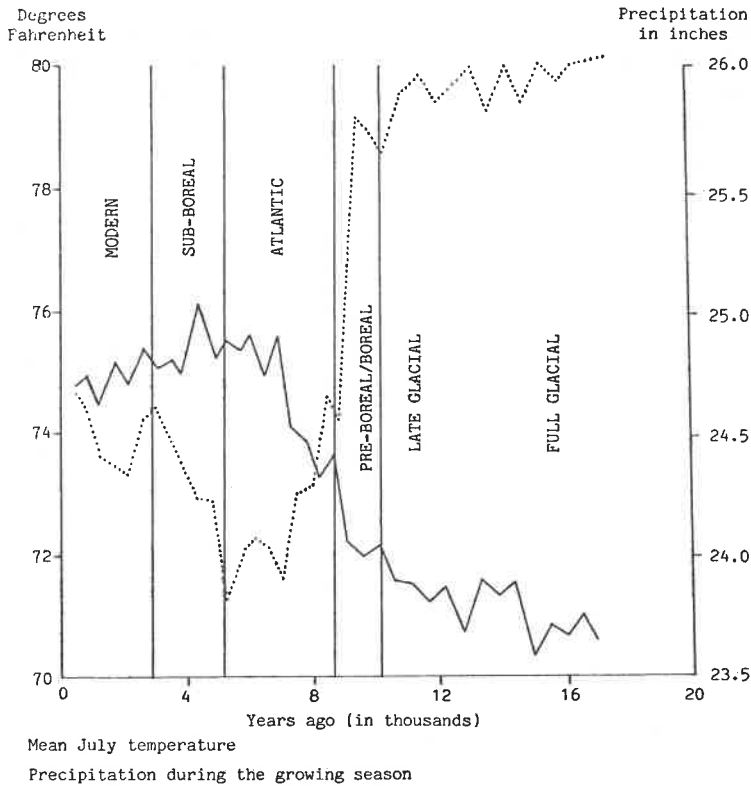
by  
Michael F. Johnson

*Mr. Johnson is Fairfax County's archeologist for pre-history.*

This period in the Native American culture history of Fairfax County appears to represent a continuation of the previous *Paleo-Indian* period discussed in volume 20 (Johnson 1985:5-18). The major changes are represented by a marked shift in the nature of settlement patterns (where and how people lived) toward a more stable distribution of sites; the appearance of notched and stemmed, serrated points (probably spear points); and a shift toward the use of local stone in tool manufacture. The quantity of sites also appears to increase markedly over time, culminating in a relatively high level of local hunting and gathering activity by 6,700 B.C. It is likely that a rapidly moderating climate from the cold and wet conditions that prevailed during the Paleo-Indian period and a resultant diversification of plants and animals played a role in these cultural changes that were taking place (Johnson 1983a).

## Regional Context

*Environmental:* A warming trend that was already beginning by 10,000 B.C., during the latter stages of the full Wisconsin glaciation (the last advance of the polar ice cap), accelerated rapidly during this period. It was coupled with a corresponding decrease in overall precipitation (figure 1). The terms climatologists use for the types of climate existing then are *Pre-Boreal* (8,000-7,300 B.C.) and *Boreal* (7,300-6,500 B.C.). The term *boreal* describes a northern environment associated with a dense pine forest. Such an environment, normally, is low in natural food productivity. It is likely, though, that because of lower latitudes and higher solar radiation, this boreal forest then was somewhat richer than modern boreal forests in Canada (Butzer 1971:144). Hypothetically, the mosaic pattern of mixed cold and warm weather plants that were present during Late Glacial



*Climate chart for the Shenandoah Valley (from Carbone 1876:91, 93).*

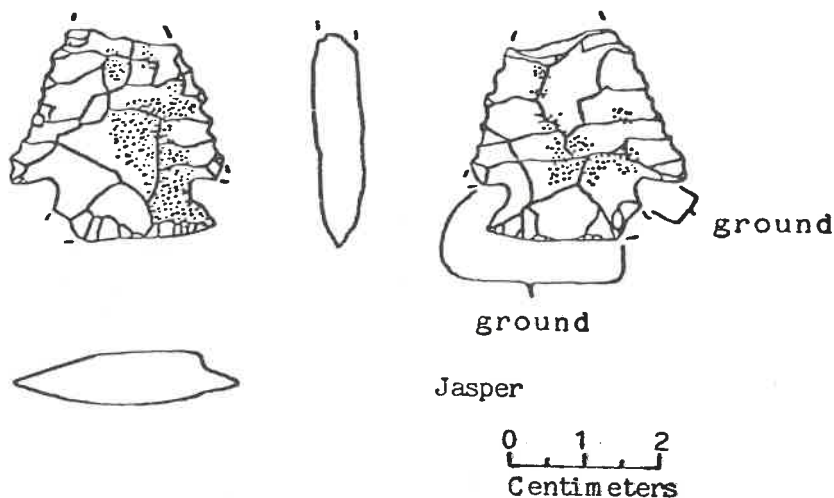
times continued but with southern hardwood plant species becoming more prevalent, at the expense of, first tundra in the mountains and, later, spruce throughout the region. By the end of the period the southern part of the Middle Atlantic Region, south of Pennsylvania, probably had a greater diversification of plant life than at any time since. An important note is that in the southern part, by the end of the Boreal episode, precipitation and temperature levels had become comparable to those of today (figure 1). In the northern part, with its cooler/wetter climate, the evidence indicates that higher percentages of spruce and pine remained for a longer period.

For this southern part of the region the mosaic-like diversity of plant life should have produced an equally diversified animal life. Moose, bear, elk, deer, and possibly residual populations of bison, mastodon, and woodland caribou could have been present. The pine forest to the north and in the higher mountains of West Virginia and interior Pennsylvania probably supported sparser populations of large mammals. Figure 1 indicates a short period of climatic stability between 9,000 and 7,500 years ago. It is

during that time that there appears to have been a distinct break in both the cultural and environmental pattern, which appears to have begun during the Late Glacial climatic episode and the Paleo-Indian cultural period. It is this break that marks the end of the Hunter-Gatherer I period and the beginning of the Hunter-Gatherer II period.

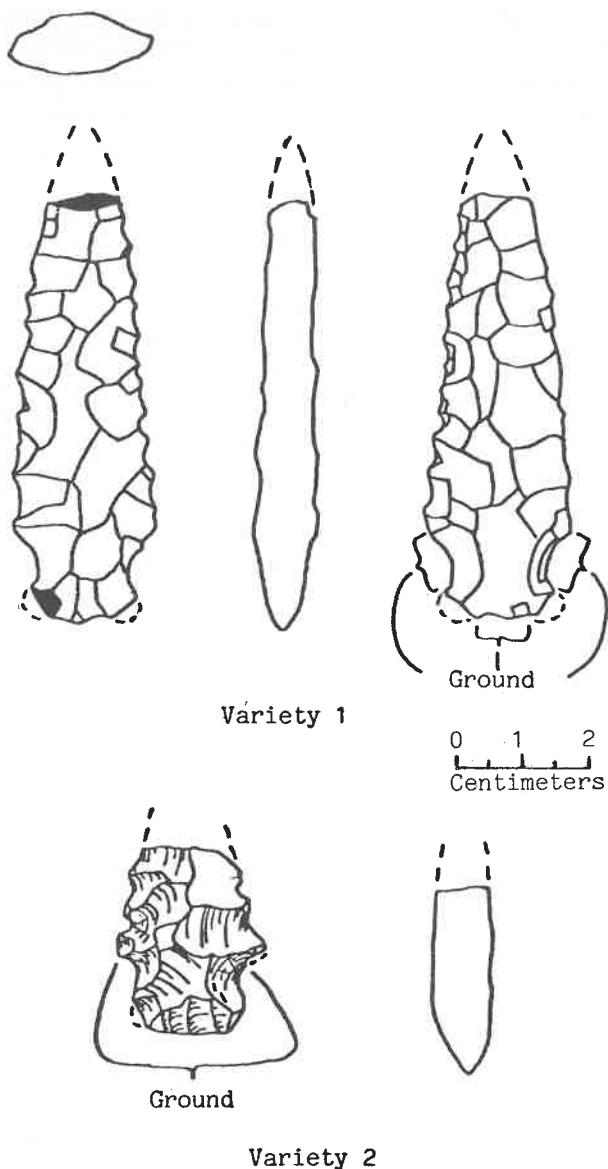
**Cultural:** Technologically, archeologists mark the Hunter-Gatherer I period with an apparent evolutionary shift in point forms from the notched-fluted Hardaway-like point of the Paleo-Indian period to the corner notched-unfluted Palmer/Kirk-like point (figure 2). Archeologists have divided these periods into phases which are named after the dominant point types found on sites dated to various times during each period. According to Dr. William M. Gardner (personal communication) the evidence from the Shenandoah Valley indicates that although there is this shift from fluted to notched points, the earlier Paleo-Indian distribution of sites (settlement pattern) appears to have persisted through the Palmer/Kirk phase until the next phase, named after Kirk side notched/stemmed points (figure 3). As a result, it may be argued that it is more appropriate to place the Palmer/Kirk Phase in the earlier Paleo-Indian period. Wherever it is put there is evidence that there were strong environmental and possibly also cultural factors that were creating stress in the human populations during the early part of the Hunter-Gatherer I period (Johnson 1983a).

A marked increase in apparent cultural activity occurred with the shift from Palmer/Kirk corner notched to Kirk side notched/stemmed points.



*Palmer/Kirk-like points.*

*Courtesy of Mark Kelly, Annandale, Va.*



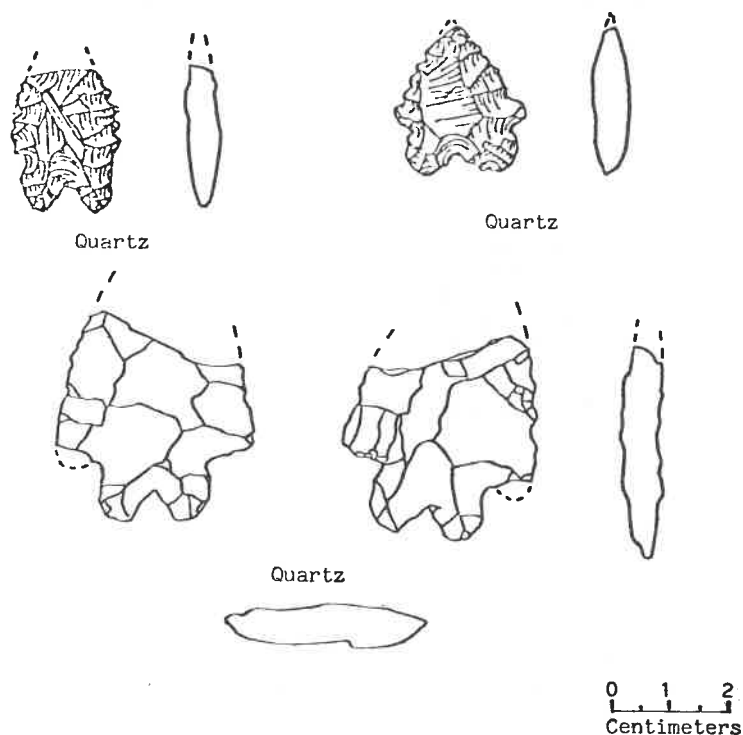
*Kirk-like points.*

When combined with Gardner's concurrent settlement pattern shift, the changes reflect what appears to have been a tendency toward a more stable life way; a more intense and possibly successful subsistence (hunting and gathering) strategy; and/or a population increase. In the Northeast, including New York and northern Pennsylvania, this apparent cultural



emergence is not well documented. Some archeologists hypothesize that the low productivity of the dense boreal forest that covered those areas at that time could not sustain large numbers of hunter-gatherers and, therefore, little evidence of their presence exists. Others have stated that the low number of sites from this period is the result of archeological survey bias in favor of the more spectacular late Native American villages, and Clovis and Mid-Paleo sites from the Paleo-Indian period. Furthermore, in the Northeast, Kirk and the subsequent Bifurcate Phase sites seem to date later than those from the southern part of the Middle Atlantic Region, possibly indicating a gradual south to north movement of these phases. If this is the case, then it is possible that the people associated with these stone artifacts initially were adapted to a particular way of life associated with a specific kind of environment, rather than readapting to changes occurring in their environment. This could result in some areas having been sparsely exploited while at the same time others were being heavily used.

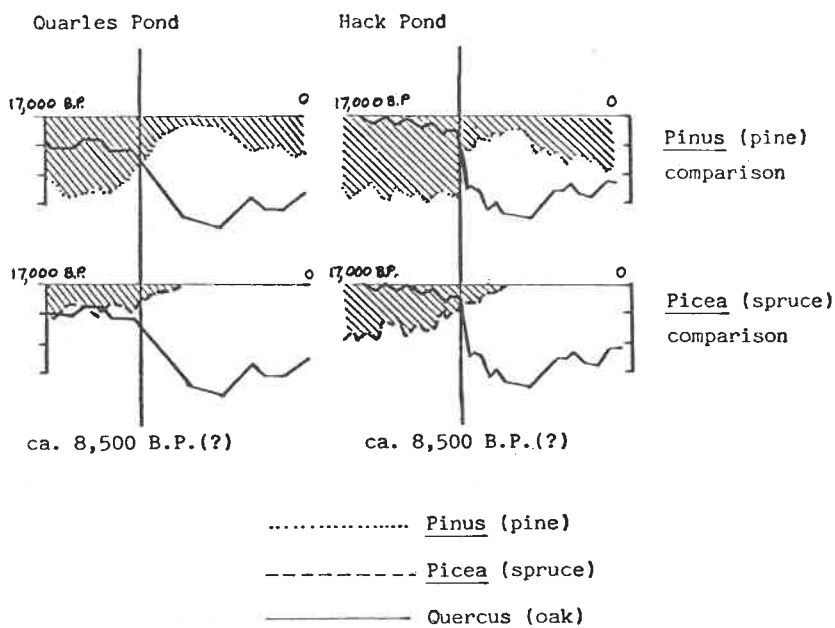
The final phase in this thematic period is represented by the Bifurcate point type (figure 4), which appears to mark a peak in activity in the region (Johnson 1981:1983a). Although some variation exists in point sizes,



*Bifurcate-like points (top points from 44FX143; bottom points courtesy of Robert McNair, Herndon, Va.*

shapes, and flintworking quality during the phase, the phase is being treated here as one cultural tradition. Whether it reflects a significant change in cultural patterns from the preceding Kirk Phase has yet to be determined. Probably the Bifurcate Phase is only an evolutionary extension of the cultural patterns underway during previous phases. The apparent increase in intensity of sites and points over previous phases could reflect a successful refinement of already existing hunter-gatherer techniques. The occurrence of ground stone artifacts such as axes and celts during this phase indicates a more intensive use of plant resources than was present during previous phases (Chapman 1975:161).

As mentioned previously, this peak in activity also corresponds to the most diversified vegetational mixture present during the past 11,500 years. Figure 5 shows the comparison of oak, spruce and pine pollen samples covering the last 17,000 years. This graphic indicates that at about 8,500 years ago (6,500 B.C.) the region possibly had a maximum mixture of plant and resultant animal resources from both northern and southern climates. Central and Southern New England today possibly serve as a partial modern analogue. The effects of lower latitude during this period, as with the previous Paleo-Indian period, probably makes a true modern analogue impossible to identify.



*Direct comparison of Quercus (oak) with Pinus (pine) and Picea (spruce) pollen diagrams from Quarles and Hack Ponds near the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia (Carbone 1976:47; redrawn from Craig 1969).*

## Local Context

During the Hunter-Gatherer I period the cultural phases in Fairfax County seem to have followed the chronological sequence that characterizes the southern part of the Middle Atlantic (south of New York and Northern Pennsylvania) (table 1 and 2). Environmentally, for the Shenandoah Valley,

This period is characterized primarily by the expansion of coniferous and deciduous elements and a reduction in open habitats. The higher elevations shifted from tundra to subarctic woodland, coniferous forests of hemlock and pine probably characterized the slopes and ridges, while mixed conifer-

	<u>Cultural Period</u>	<u>Subsistence(emphasis)</u>	<u>Diagnostic artifacts</u>
I	First Virginians or "Paleo Indian" ( -7,500 B.C.)	Foraging (hunting- possible big game emphasis)	Clovis/Mid Paleo pts Dalton points Hardaway points
II	Hunter-Gatherer I (7,800-6,200 B.C.)	Foraging (hunting)	Palmer/Kirk points Kirk stemmed points Bifurcate points
III	Hunter-Gatherer II	Foraging (gather- ing?)	Stanley points Morrow Mtn/Stark pts Guilford points Big sand points
IV	Hunter-Gatherer III	Foraging (hunting)	Halifax/Brewerton(?) points
V	Hunter-Gatherer IV	Collecting (general)	Savannah River points Holmes/Bare Island pts Susquehanna points Calvert points Rossville/Piscataway points Bushnell/Marcey Creek pottery Selden Island pottery Accokeek pottery Popes Creek pottery Mockley pottery
VI	Early Agricultura- list (800-1,607 A.D.)	Collecting/ Producing	Triangular points Rappahannock/Townsend pottery Potomac Creek pottery
VII	Contact (1,607-1,750 A.D.)	Collecting/ Producing	Triangular points Rappahannock/Townsend pottery Potomac Creek pottery Colono pottery

*Hypothetical Native American cultural overview for the Middle Atlantic Region with a focus on Fairfax County, Virginia (Johnson 1986:8).*

deciduous forest of decidedly northern cast dominated the valley floor and foothills (Carbone 1976:186).

The boggy conditions possibly present in the county during the Paleo-Indian period (Johnson 1985:11) probably would have continued, but at a gradually lessening degree.

A northern "conifer (evergreen)-deciduous forest" should have dominated the Fairfax County landscape during the 8,000-6,500 B.C. time period. Again, as with the Paleo-Indian period, the local environment probably was slightly more southern in character than that occurring in the Shenandoah Valley and Pennsylvania. As a result, deciduous plant elements should have been more common in the county.

Period	Diagnostic Point Types	Dates (from Gleeck 1985)
I	Clovis/Mid-Paleo (fluted point) Dalton (fluted point) Hardaway (notched fluted point)	9,170-7,600 B.C. (Northeast dates) 8,580-6,880 B.C. (Missouri dates) 7,500 B.C.(?)
II	Palmer/Kirk (corner/sidenotched pt) Kirk (stemmed point) Bifurcate (notched stem point)	7,840-6,200 B.C. 7,190-6,635 B.C. (New York dates) 6,970-6,210 B.C. (incl. Lecroy and Kahawha)
III	Stanly (stemmed point) Morrow Mtn (contracting stem point) Guildord (lanceolate point) Big Sandy (sidenotched point)	6,300-5,440 B.C. (Neville date from New York) 5,300-4,500 B.C. 4,500-4,000 B.C. (Graybill and Lesser n.d.: 21) 4,000-3,000 B.C. (Graybill and Lesser n.d.: 21)
IV	Halifax/Brewerton (notched points)	3,720-1,820 B.C. (Mostly Brewerton dates)
V	Savannah River (stemmed point) Holmes/Bare Island (stemmed point) Susquehanna Broad (broad corner notched point) Calvert (stemmed point) Rossville/Piscataway (lanceolate point) Triangle (triangular point)	2,915-1,310 B.C. 2,350-1,550 B.C. (Va. and Penn. dates) 1,980-790 B.C. (Penn. and New England dates) 1,160-1,070 B.C. (Va. dates) 520 B.C.-375 A.D. (Northeast dates) 270-1,750 A.D.
VI	Triangle (triangular point) Iron/Glass points (triangular)	270-1,750 A.D. 1,607-1,705 A.D.
<u>Diagnostic Pottery Types (From Egloff and Potter 1982)</u>		
V	Bushnell/Marcey Creek (soapstone temper) Selden Island (soapstone temper) Accokeek (sand/grit temper) Popes Creek (sand temper) Mockley (shell temper) Rappahannock/Townsend (shell temper) Potomac Creek (sand temper)	1,300-800 B.C. 900 B.C. 800-300 B.C. 500 B.C.-200 A.D. 200-900 A.D. 900 A.D.-Pre-1,750 A.D. 1,300 A.D.-Pre-1,750 A.D.
VI	Rappahannock/Townsend (shell temper) Potomac Creek (sand temper) Colono (sand, grit, and no temper)	900 A.D.-Pre-1,750 A.D. 1,300 A.D.-Pre-1,750 A.D. 1,607 A.D.-Pre-1,750 A.D.

*Current hypothesized Native American cultural chronology for Fairfax County (as of January 1, 1987).*

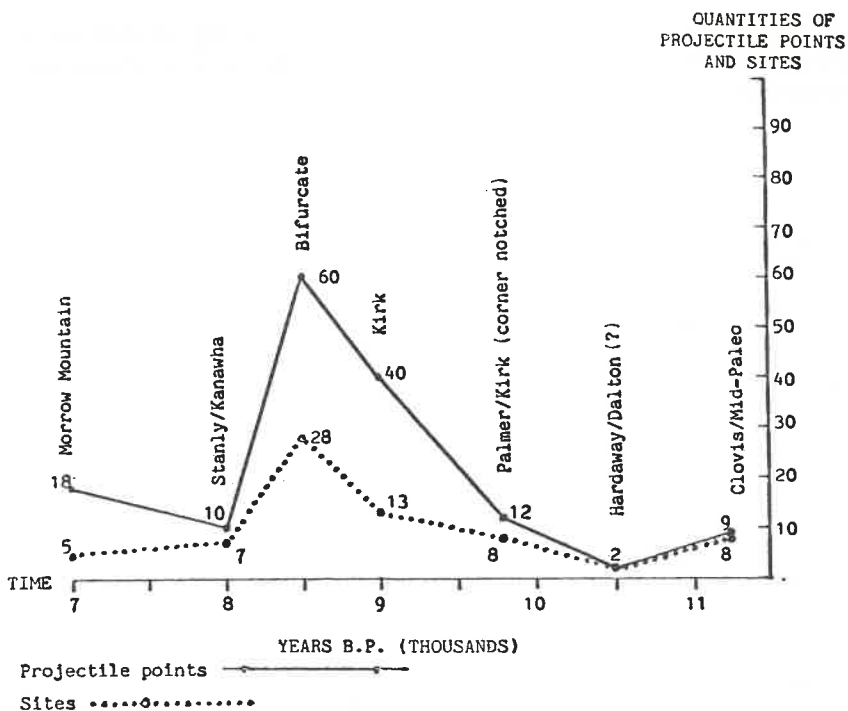
The presence of an increasingly higher percentage of fruit-bearing and nut-bearing vegetation and, theoretically, an increasingly more diversified and plentiful animal population, could have supported a shift from the hunting-based subsistence of the Paleo-Indian period to a more generalized resource procurement strategy by the local hunter-gatherers. If the settlement pattern shift that Gardner identified in the Shenandoah Valley for the Palmer/Kirk and Kirk phases are also present in Fairfax County, then it is possible that the shift reflects prehistoric adaption to the changes in plant and animal resources.

The point styles pictured in figures 2, 3, and 4 are the representative types (diagnostics) for each cultural phase during the Hunter-Gatherer I period. As with the Paleo-Indian period, changes in them do not necessarily reflect corresponding changes in other cultural systems. As stated above, archeologists use them as time-markers and manifestations of technological and/or stylistic changes in point related systems, such as, for example, spears and spearthrowers (atlatls).

Based on the total quantities of each type of point and number of sites from each phase found in Fairfax County it appears that a rapid increase in point related activity was taking place during the period. For example, 12 points and eight sites from the Palmer/Kirk Phase, 40 points and 13 sites from the Kirk Phase, and 60 points and 28 sites from the Bifurcate Phase were identified in the county as of May 1983 (figure 6). It is hypothesized here that those changes that are apparent from the archeological record were influenced by the strong currents of environmental change to which they seem to correspond (Johnson 1983b). The main problem with these data is that they reflect primarily sites occurring on small streams well inland from the Potomac and Occoquan Rivers. Whereas we can say that in the interior portions of the county significant changes in prehistoric cultural patterns appear to have been taking place during the Hunter-Gatherer I period, until more data are available from sites buried in large riverine terraces we cannot apply that hypothesis to the entire county.

With the present Potomac River fall line, (boundary between fresh and saline water) possibly not having reached Little Falls at Chain Bridge until 5,000 B.C. (Gardner 1980:3), the problems of locating Hunter-Gatherer I period sites from the tidal Potomac are immense. Most of these sites were eroded into the Potomac thousands of years ago. The deposition of silt, in places many feet thick, on top of Hunter-Gatherer I period sites along the fresh water portions of the Occoquan and Potomac Rivers also makes locating them difficult.

Although a relatively high number of sites and points from this period have been found in the county the quality of the finds are not high. Most of the sites are in disturbed contexts such as plowed fields and eroded areas. Using what we do have here and what we know about higher quality sites in the region, archeologists can make hypotheses about the social



Total pre-5,000 B.C. points and archaeological sites by known cultural phase in Fairfax County (from sites located before May 1983) (Johnson 1983a:64).

organizations of the people who lived here. The small sizes of all of the sites and what we know about modern hunter-gatherer societies that produce similar sized sites, indicate that these people probably lived in small groups of 15-25 people. These groups are called *bands* and usually were comprised of several extended families (children, parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles).

As stated earlier these people appear to have been less mobil than the Paleo-Indians. Today, archeologists probably would call them *general foragers*, who usually hunt and gather on a daily basis with little long term storage of food during the warmer months. The dramatic increase in sites indicate that these people were very successful.

Archeologists have found very little evidence from the Native Americans who lived here after 6,200 B.C. As a result we do not know what happened to the people who made Bifurcate points. Did they move away because the climate made dramatic changes which they could not adapt to? Did those dramatic changes cause starvation and reduced population? Did the Bifurcate phase people alter their life ways in a manner (re-adapt) which archeologists have not identified, or are the diagnostic artifacts from this new phase among the many that archeologists have not yet dated?

In any event we know that some changes were going on and we can hypothesize that they were influenced by the dramatic environmental changes that were taking place after 6,500 B.C.

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# **Captain John Newton Ballard A Dyed-In-The-Wool Confederate**

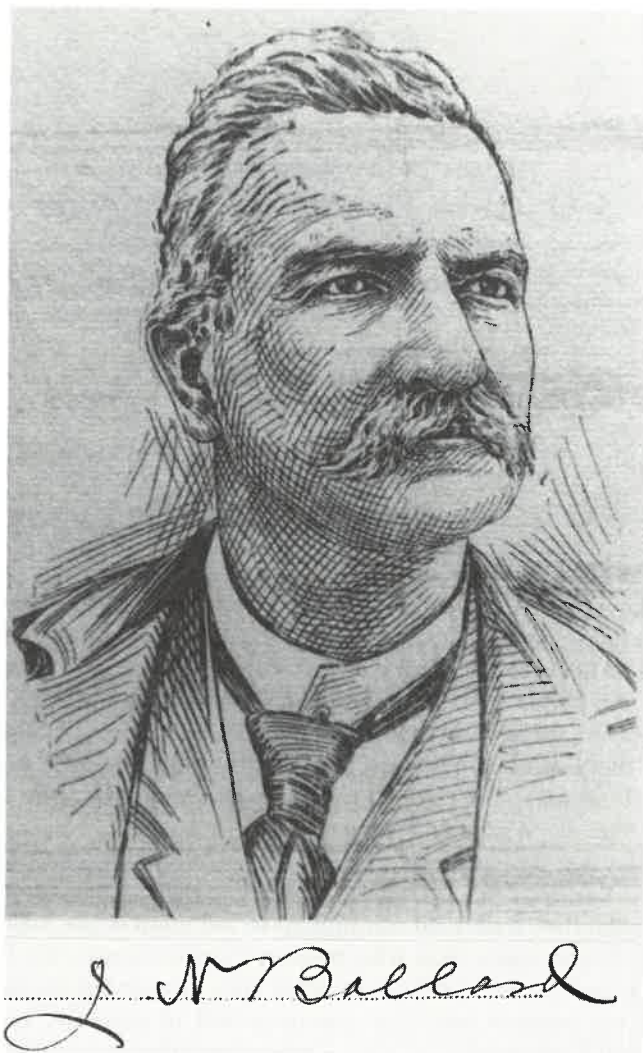
## **Commemorating the Centennial of the Fairfax Confederate Monument 1888 - 1988**

by  
Richard L. Thompson

There have been thousands of books written on the subject of the Civil War; among them are official records, personal reminiscence, diaries, and novels. Most of these included stories of the hand-to-hand combat, acts of heroism, or deeds of valor, but for every account left to us by documentation there were many more which entailed an equal amount of daring or the display of gallantry on the battlefield that were known only to the participants or witnessed by a companion or foe who failed, for whatever reason, to give an account of what occurred.

When the war ended many of the veterans who struggled through the carnage of that four years continued to serve their ex-comrades-in-arms just as though they had been summoned to aid them in the heat of battle. One such person was a man who lived in Fairfax County for forty-eight years. Although he was not born in the county, his service in public office as a land tax assessor and later commissioner of revenue, as an active member and Commander of Marr Camp Confederate Veterans, and the many benevolent acts he managed to involve himself in for the benefit of the needy ex-confederate soldiers or their widows, have earned for Captain John N. Ballard a place in the annals of Fairfax County.

This work is an endeavor to describe some of the circumstances surrounding the life of this man who during war times was not acquainted with fear,<sup>1</sup> and after the end of hostilities dedicated himself to the task of enshrining the memories of those confederates who found sepulcher upon Fairfax soil by being the organizer and chairman of a group known as the Confederate Monument Association, which was established for the purpose of erecting a monument to the confederate soldiers of Fairfax who died or were killed during the war.



*Engraving from The Fairfax Herald date unknown.*

John N. Ballard was born in Albemarle County, Virginia on January 1, 1839. He was the first child of William J. and Sarah Ballard and by 1850 he had a brother, William, and two sisters, Beatrice and Ella.<sup>2</sup> His father was a farmer, a profession John entered after he settled in Fairfax County.<sup>3</sup>

With the outbreak of the Civil War and before Virginia seceded from the Union, he left his home near Charlottesville and made his way to South Carolina where he joined the Confederate Army. He enlisted in the 2nd South Carolina regiment, Col. Krenshaw Barnham's Brigade of

Longstreet's Division, serving the first twelve months of the war with this unit. He was then promoted to First Lieutenant and assigned to the 56th Virginia Regiment under Col. J.E.B. Stuart with General Eppa Hunton's Brigade of Pickett's Division. While engaged in action with this unit he was wounded and temporarily assigned to conscript duty.<sup>4</sup> After his recovery from the wound he was assigned to the staff of General William E. Jones, where he served from January 1, 1863 until June of 1863, when he was again wounded, this time in the left arm, while fighting during the Cavalry Battle of Brandy Station, Virginia.<sup>5</sup> The battle was started when Stuart's cavalry, gathered for a review by the General Staff, were suddenly attacked by Union cavalry under General Alfred Pleasonton. For several hours the heaviest cavalry fighting of the war raged around Fleetwood Hill, now a landmark of the site. About ten thousand troops were engaged on each side. The Union forces came in large groups and inflicted heavy damage before leaving in good order. Stuart, although forced to retreat temporarily, managed to hold the field and was able to screen the movements of Lee's divisions northward.

After this battle, John resigned from the regular service and immediately joined Mosby at Rector's Crossroads, four miles west of Middleburg. On the morning of June 10, 1863 the command was formally organized as Company A, Forty-Third Battalion Partisan Rangers. The same day they were joined by Captain William G. Brawner with his Prince William Partisan Rangers.<sup>6</sup> The combined force moved out with plans to attack a camp of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry at Seneca Mills, Maryland. The next morning in a deep cut in the road near the mill, a sharp cavalry fight took place and during the action Captain Brawner and Lieutenant George H. Whitescarver were killed. When John Ballard saw Captain Brawner fall, he rode up to the federal soldier who shot him and struck him over the head with his sabre, knocking him from his horse. After routing the Federals for several miles toward Poolesville, the Rangers returned to Seneca and destroyed the camp before crossing the river back to Virginia.

Although John returned from the Seneca engagement without injury, he was not as fortunate in an affair that took place only a few days later.

The following account is John Ballard's own description of what happened on that occasion.<sup>7</sup>

On the evening of June 21st, while Stuart was fighting Pleasonton and gradually falling back to Ashby's Gap, Mosby, with a portion of his command, left a point on General Stuart's right, not far from Five Points, and passing close to the enemy's left, reached the Bull Run Mountains near Landmark.<sup>8</sup> The gaps in the mountains were in possession of and well guarded by the Federal troops, and Mosby was compelled to cross by a little mountain path. The road was rugged and the night was very dark, and by some mishap a

good number of our men lost their way and had to return, so that there were only about twenty-five men left with Mosby, who halted on top of the mountain and slept till morning. In the valley the enemy's campfires were seen in every direction.

Early next morning we descended the eastern slope of the mountain and passed through the farm of Dr. Ewell.<sup>9</sup> At a small house we captured two Federal cavalymen, who told us there was only a small force of cavalry at the church near by. Coming in sight we charged them. There was a fence and a gate between us and just as we got through the gate a body of infantry who were lying in ambush inside of and around the church gave us volley after volley. We did not see the infantry until we got quite near the church. Montjoy had a finger shot off; Charles Hall received a ball in his shoulder, and I was shot in the leg. My horse had an eye shot out and became unmanageable. The Federals had one man killed and several wounded. We then galloped back to the mountains and the Federals did not attempt to pursue us.

John's leg had been crushed by the ball and the rough riding back to the mountains made the fracture worse. He was taken to the home of Mr. Robert Whitacre, near the top of the mountain where his leg was amputated, and he was kindly nursed and taken care of until he could be moved to Ben Venue, the home of Mr. William Ayre.<sup>10</sup> It was this recuperation period at the Ayre home that played a great part in what happened to John for the rest of his life. The following winter he was again in the saddle and with the command, but had his artificial leg crushed in a charge with Captain A. E. Richards on a Federal camp near Halltown. He afterwards came in possession of the artificial leg of Col. Ulric Dahlgren,<sup>11</sup> with which he was enabled to continue in active service. In the last few months of the war he served on the staff of General John C. Breckenridge<sup>12</sup> who had been appointed Secretary of War and assigned to Richmond.

With the ending of hostilities and Reconstruction underway, John settled in Richmond and remained there working as a clerk in the famous hotel owned by his uncle John P. Ballard and known as the Ballard House. The building was erected on the corner of 14th and Franklin streets in 1854 and 55 and first occupied on Oct. 30, 1855. The hotel was well known because of the many prominent guests who stayed there, among them being ex-President John Tyler, who died in his room there on January 18, 1862. At the time of his death, he was a member of the Confederate Congress. Following the tragic occurrence of the Capitol disaster in 1870, the hotel was used as the temporary meeting place for the Senate and House of Delegates. Mosby was a guest there during John's employment. He was in Richmond in March of 1870 to seek a judgeship for a friend. One day while crossing the footbridge connecting the Ballard and Exchange

Hotels, Mosby met General Lee and his daughter. The General seemed pale and haggard, and did not look like the Apollo he had known in the army. Later he went to see the gray-haired veteran at his hotel room. During his stay of nearly an hour, they engaged in general conversation, Mosby making a conscious effort to exclude reference to the war. As he came away, he met General George Pickett and casually mentioned that he had been to see Lee. Pickett urged the lawyer to return to the hotel with him, explaining that he would like to pay his respects, but did not want to be alone with his former commander. Mosby consented, and afterward regretted the move, finding himself in a meeting that was extremely embarrassing, with the interview being cold and formal. As they left, Pickett spoke bitterly of the southern leader and referred to him as "that old man," adding that he "had my division massacred at Gettysburg." Mosby commented dryly, "Well, it made you immortal."<sup>13</sup>

For many years the business was combined with its earlier counterpart across the street, the Exchange Hotel, and the iron bridge of Gothic design mentioned by Mosby as a footbridge spanned Franklin Street, connecting the two hotels at the second story level. John often spoke of the fine silver service and other features of the building which prompted him to invite his friends there to enjoy the many luxuries it had to offer.

He continued working in Richmond until the summer of 1874, when his attention once again was focused on the country which had been Mosby's Confederacy and the events which took place during his escapades as a Ranger with the Gray Ghost.

During his recovery from the amputation of his leg at the home of William Ayre in Fauquier County, John was introduced to a young girl who was a niece of the Ayres. Her name was Mary Lillie Reid Thrift. She had lost her mother Lucretia, who was a daughter of John Reid and a sister of Mrs. Ayre, when she was only two years old. Her father Captain James Thrift, an ex-military officer from the Mexican War, had organized a company in Fairfax during the early months of the Civil War, which later became Company G of the Eighth Virginia Infantry. After a reorganization near Yorktown, he was assigned as a field officer with the rank of Major, and in 1863 he was fatally wounded during the battle of Seven Pines,<sup>14</sup> leaving his only child an orphan.

Although Mary was just fourteen years old in 1863, she was attracted to the brave young wounded soldier who was being cared for in the home where she was living. Her interest was to grow deeper and remain with her for the rest of her life. John must have shared her feelings, because on September 22, 1874 they obtained a marriage license in Fairfax and were married the same afternoon at the home of William Ayre, who was then living in Fairfax County.

## Squire of the Fruit Vale Farm

In the early years of their marriage, John was deeply involved with litigation over property which had been devised to Mary by the will of her grandfather John Reid,<sup>15</sup> who died on May 1, 1860, and also by the will of her father,<sup>16</sup> who after specific devises left all of his remaining property to her. William Ayre had been appointed Mary's guardian after the death of her father, and as administrator of her father's estate. Ayre was named co-executor with James Thrift in the will of John Reid. He had been in control of these properties for several years without giving accounts of rents, etc., and refused to do so when requested by John and Mary, which resulted in the chancery suits. This situation must have caused a very strained relationship between John and the man who allowed his home to be used as a secluded retreat for the wounded soldiers of Mosby's command. As a result of the various suits, Mary rightfully gained ownership and clear title to all of her property. This amounted to a sizable estate centering around the former home of Col. John Reid and including the land which comprised most of the area where the battle of Ox Hill or Chantilly was fought on September 1, 1862. Mary had been a little girl of thirteen when the battle took place. The land included the sites where Major Generals Philip Kearny and Isaac Stevens were killed, and was known as the Fruit Vale Farm. The Reid house which is shown on most of the military maps of the battle and mentioned in many of the reports by officers engaged in the action, was included in the property of Mary Reid Thrift, having been bequeathed to her by her grandfather's will. The farm contained about one hundred and forty-three acres and by a chancery suit filed in 1880 was later enlarged by another forty-four and one-half adjoining acres, which were part of the land that had been devised to Martha Ayre by the will of her father, John Reid, and after her death was to be divided among his grandchildren.<sup>17</sup>

Following their marriage, John and Mary established their home in the Reid house and continued to reside there for the rest of their lives.

On July 27, 1875, the year following their marriage, a son, James William, the first of their seven children, was born. On November 9, 1876, in the centennial year of our nation's independence, another son, Robert Thrift was born. A daughter, Lillie Thrift, arrived in January 1882; then another son, John P., on June 27, 1883; another daughter, Ella M., on March 27, 1887; followed by another daughter, Margaret L., on July 16, 1889. Their last child, a daughter, born in March 1891, was named Varina Katherine and although it is only conjecture on the part of the author, she may have been the namesake of the wife of President Jefferson Davis.

The fact that John was a very active man may easily be substantiated by the number of artificial legs he wore out. It is unknown how long Col.





*The Kearney and Stevens Markers when first erected. The Ballard or Reid house may be seen in the background. Photo from the book *Fairfax County and the War Between the States*, Fairfax County Civil War Centennial Commission, 1961.*

Dahlgren's leg lasted, but in his application for an artificial limb, filed on the 19th day of May 1884, John states that he had received one leg from the state in 1871 and the doctor's certificate filed with the application states that the former leg furnished by the state to the applicant had been worn out. He also noted that he found his leg to be off three inches below the knee, and Mr. Ballard, in his opinion, was fully entitled to the benefits of this act.<sup>18</sup>

### **A Proud Moment of Honor**

In the summer of 1888, an ad was placed in *The Fairfax Herald* requesting the citizens of Fairfax Courthouse and vicinity to meet in the courthouse on a day designated, for the purpose of taking steps to erect a monument to the confederate soldiers of Fairfax who died or were killed during the late war. The ad was signed "Ex-Confederate." When the meeting took place it was found that Captain John N. Ballard was the gentleman who had the notice inserted and by whose indomitable energy and perseverance an association was formed, of which he was made chairman, known as the Confederate Monument Association.<sup>19</sup> Funds were raised by contributions which were considerably augmented by fairs





cemetery about one-quarter of a mile west of the courthouse, upon a commanding eminence, formerly the sight of the parsonage of the Episcopal Church in the village of Fairfax. The parsonage was destroyed by fire during the war, and afterwards the ground was purchased by the Ladies' Memorial Association.<sup>20</sup>

The monument is twenty-six feet high and is built of Richmond granite, and stands on a mound of earth about six feet above the surface of the ground. The monument consists of three base-blocks, a die, and a shaft. Upon the second base, in raised letters are the words, "Confederate Dead."

On the front or north side is the following inscription:

FROM FAIRFAX TO APPOMATTOX

1861 - 1865

Erected to the memory of the gallant sons of Fairfax whose names are inscribed on this monument, but whose bodies lie buried on distant battle-fields; and to the memory of their two hundred unknown comrades whose remains are at rest beneath this mound.

These were men whom death could not terrify—whom defeat could not discourage.

Below the above in large raised letters are the words:

CONFEDERATE DEAD

On the east side:

First Virginia Cavalry: J. Conway Chichester.

Fourth Virginia: John H. Lee, Garrison Beach, William Beach, Templeton Selecman.

Sixth Virginia, Company A: Edward Nevitt.

Company T: James Robey, James Wrenn, Joseph Padgett, J. Berkeley Monroe.

Company K: Lieut. Geo. A. Means, Edgar Haycock.

Eleventh Virginia, Company I: Lieut. W. H. Dirby, Summerfield Ball, John Ball, Joseph Nelson, James Nelson, W. Moore, John Terrett, J. H. Saunders, John C. Sewall, Roger Williams, Michael Crow, Augustus C. Williams.

Mosby's Cavalry: Lieut. Frank Fox, D. French Dulany, John Underwood, E. F. Davis, Fenton Beavers, Thomas Simpson, Addison Davis, John B. Davis, W. D. Gooding, John T. Arundell, Zachariah Mayhugh.

On the south side:

Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, Company A: D. McC. Lee.

Company F: F. M. Lee, F. Simms.

Company K: Robert T. Love.

Seventh Virginia Infantry, Company E: Sergeant S. Z. Troth, James T. Taylor.

Forty-ninth Virginia Infantry: R.T. Halley.

Nineteenth Georgia Infantry, Company K: Mathew Plaskett, Henry Gosling, George Moulden, W. K. Dawson.

Major Alfred Moss, General Ewell's Staff.

Artillery—Stuart's Horse: Major Charles E. Ford. Kemper's Battery: Robert Posey. Danville: John Wells. Captain James W. Jackson, Washington Stuart.

Navy: Commodore William T. Muse, Surgeon Randolph F. Mason.

On the west side:

Eighth Virginia Infantry: Major James Thrift.

Company G: Lieutenant G. W. Swink, Sergeant C. W. Reed, Sergeant J. F. Lynn, Sergeant E. F. Money, James Ballenger, A. J. Bradfield, Alfred Hooe, Asa Peck, G. L. Williams, J. W. Williams, Robert Wells, James Forsyth, W. T. Tucker, J. W. Gunnell, C. H. Hutchinson, J. L. Hutchinson, Samuel Jenkins, Frank Steele, Joshua Adams, W. H. Adams, S. E. Horseman, Elthum Pearson, Thomas Reed, J. A. Simms, A. Harrison, Arm'd Thompson.

Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, Company D: Captain John T. Burke, Sergeant John R. Steele, Samuel L. Barnes, Walter S. Ford, Lyman Koon, J. Beach, John R. Ratcliffe, Charles H. Ashford, Henry Wrenn, Joseph Freeman, H. F. Harman, Robert Petit, John Newcomb, R. C. Corbett, Simeon Mills, Edgar Thomas, Thomas A. Lynn, Michael Crowley, A. Dove, J. W. Richardson.

Preparations for the unveiling had been in progress for several days. The ladies had decorated the Courthouse in the most exquisite manner, inside and out, and the speakers' stand was also handsomely decorated with flags and flowers.

## Crowds and Organizations

Long before noon the village was thronged. Crowds came by every road.

“Each valley, each sequestered glen,  
Mustered its little horde of men,”

and sent them to do honor to the fallen braves.

Lee Camp, of Alexandria, under Commander William A. Smoot, came up via Virginia Midland railroad and were accompanied by R. E. Lee Camp, Sons of Confederate Veterans, recently organized. Numbers of members of the Clinton Hatcher Camp, of Loudoun, came via the Washington and Ohio, and these organizations were accompanied by large numbers of unattached citizens and many ladies.

Washington, Baltimore, Alexandria, Leesburg, Warrenton, and all the counties of this section sent some representatives for the occasion. The visitors were met at the stations by committees, who brought them to the village in vehicles and entertained them handsomely.

The dedication procession fell into line on Payne Street and before noon the line, attended by a large crowd, moved down Court Street to Mechanics Street, thence down Mechanics to Main Street to the cemetery.

On entering the cemetery the band played a death march until the line had circled about the monument.

The services were opened with prayer by Rev. J. Cleveland Hall, when, after a dirge by the band, Captain J. N. Ballard presented the monument to the Ladies Memorial Association, with the following appropriate remarks:

Ladies, Gentlemen and Comrades:

To me has been assigned the duty of making the presentation, and while I could wish that this task had been given to some one else, still I assume the position with pride, and shall consider the honor the proudest of my life. But if in the presentation I should use no elegant language, still I shall utter the sentiments of a candid heart, sentiments that shall find a responsive echo in the breasts of all; and before proceeding to the duty assigned me on this occasion, I will give you a brief outline of the history of this monument which stands before us to commemorate the deeds of our lost ones. Of course many of you are familiar with the facts which I shall state, but for the benefit of those who are not, I shall ask your indulgence for a few minutes. Many years ago an association was formed by the ladies of Fairfax to raise funds for the purpose of collecting together the remains of the Confederate soldiers who, in the defence of a common cause, found sepulchre upon Fairfax soil, and to erect a monument to the memory of the Confederate dead. The purpose was so far accomplished that this handsome lot was purchased, and the grassy mound at the base of this monument now covers the remains of two hundred heroes. At that point the funds being exhausted the ultimate purpose of the association was for a time held in abeyance.

Two years ago the ex-Confederates of Fairfax formed an association and completed the work so nobly begun by the ladies.

The inscription of the monument, "From Fairfax to Appomattox," illustrates the part taken by the Fairfax soldiers, whose blood stained every battle field participated in by the Army of Northern Virginia. The names inscribed thereon tell of Colonel James Thrift, of the Eighth Virginia Infantry, who was mortally wounded at Seven Pines, and died as he had lived—every inch a hero; of Lieutenant G. W. Swink, Sergeants Reed, Lynn, Gunnell, Hutchinson, Harrison, Thompson, and others of Company G, Eighth Virginia Infantry; of Captain John T. Burke, Sergeants Steele, Ford, Barnes, Wrenn, Pettitt, Richardson, Thomas, and others of Company D, Seventeenth Virginia Infantry; of Robert T. Love and D. McC. Lee, Seventeenth Virginia Infantry; of Sergeants Troth and Taylor, Seventh Virginia Infantry; of R. T. Halley, Forty-ninth Virginia Infantry; of Mathew Plaskett, and W. H. Dawson, and others, Nineteenth Georgia Infantry; of Conway Chichester, First Virginia Cavalry; of Lieutenants George A. Means, Berkley Monroe, Edward Nevitt and others, Sixth Virginia Cavalry; of Lieutenants W. H. Kirby, Ball, Sewall, Williams, Terrett, and others, Company I, Eleventh Virginia Cavalry; of Lieutenants Fox, Dulany, Underwood, Davis, Simpson, Gooding, Mayhugh, and others of Mosby's command; of Major Charles E. Ford, Posey, and Wells, of the artillery; of Major Alfred Moss, Captains Muse and Surgeon Mason, of the Navy.

"These are but a handful of dust,  
In the land of their choice,  
A name in song and story,  
And fame shouts her trumpet voice,  
Dead, dead on the field of glory."

And now, respected and beloved ladies of the Memorial Association, permit me, on behalf of the Monument Association, to present this monument to you in your keeping, and may you never cease to cherish this as sacred to the memory of those sleeping patriots; and may this shaft always prove an object lesson to which you may point the youth of our country in pride, and bid them emulate the example of their fallen countrymen.

The monument was received by General W. H. F. Lee, who represented the Ladies' Association, in a feeling address.

After the ceremonies the veterans were banqueted in sumptuous style in the Odd-Fellows' lodge rooms, and at sunset the visitors began their return home.<sup>21</sup>

This entire event must have left an everlasting impression in the mind of John Ballard and a feeling of great pride in knowing that he had played no small part in initiating this project and seeing it through to the actual day, when two thousand people, many of whom were distinguished ex-confederate officers, from Fairfax and adjoining counties turned out for the dedication.

John became involved with public work for Fairfax County when he qualified as a Justice of the Peace in June of 1881, for a term of two years. He was elected to serve in that position for another two year term starting July 1, 1883.<sup>22</sup>

He was appointed an assessor for the years 1889 and 1890 to assess the land and lots in the Southern District, which comprised the area of the Centreville and Lee Districts, and the following year he became the successful candidate for the elected office of Commissioner of the Revenue in the same district. John entered office in this position on July 1, 1891 for a term of four years and continued to be re-elected in that capacity for six consecutive four year terms with the last term ending January 1, 1916.<sup>23</sup>

In 1888 an organization was formed in Virginia which became known as the Grand Camp Confederate Veterans and they were incorporated in 1890 with Richmond being the seat of operations. They had branch camps organized throughout the state and among these was one in Fairfax known as the Marr Camp, having been named in honor of Captain John Quincy Marr of the Warrenton Rifles who was the first confederate officer killed in the Civil War in an action which took place near the Fairfax Courthouse on June 1, 1861. The aims of the organization were to perpetuate the memory of fallen comrades, to aid needy and suffering survivors, and manage other matters relevant to the Confederacy. John Ballard, having for many years been dedicated to a cause which was essentially the same as that outlined in the aims of the organization, became one of the group's most active members and for several years he held their highest office—the office of Commander of Marr Camp Confederate Veterans.<sup>24</sup>

After the turn of the century, the Marr Camp held their meetings in Joseph E. Willard's new hall, now known as the Old Town Hall and in 1977 the Fairfax Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy installed a bronze plaque dedicated to the memory of those confederate veterans who met there for many years.

Evidence of an accomplishment of Marr Camp while John was a member may be seen today when one views the monument standing between the cannons in front of the Old Court House. The stone bears the following inscription:

THIS STONE MARKS  
THE SCENE OF THE  
OPENING CONFLICT  
OF THE WAR OF  
1861 - 1865, WHEN  
JOHN Q. MARR,  
CAPT. OF THE WARRENTON  
RIFLES, WHO WAS THE  
FIRST SOLDIER KILLED  
IN ACTION, FELL 800 FT.  
S. 46° W. (MAC) OF THIS  
SPOT, JUNE 1st, 1861.  
ERECTED BY MARR CAMP, C.V.  
JUNE 1, 1904.

To the citizens of Fairfax, either business or social acquaintances, John was more commonly known as Captain Ballard. When the General Assembly of Virginia approved acts such as the one enacted February 14, 1882, "To Give Aid to the Citizens of Virginia, Wounded and Maimed During the Late War While Serving as Soldiers or Marines," and later acts which included sailors and widows of those who lost their lives in the War Between The States, while in the military service, the veterans and widows often sought the aid of Captain Ballard to help them secure whatever they needed for their care and support.

The applications for the state pensions were normally reviewed by a five man pension board, appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court, all having been ex-confederate soldiers.

This board determined the applicant's eligibility and the amount of pension they should receive, which for most recipients was from \$33.00 to \$50.00 annually.<sup>25</sup>

When the Marr Camp met in October 1909, among the resolutions they adopted was one stating that the confederate pensioners of the state were being unjustly dealt with by its law making body in its appropriations for the relief of its once gallant defenders. It was resolved to appeal to the Grand Camp of Virginia to bring this most important matter before the Senate and House of Delegates of the state and to urge upon them the necessity of advocating an increased appropriation for their relief.<sup>26</sup>

On March 14, 1908 the Legislature of Virginia, after some lobbying from the Confederate Veterans organizations, approved an act which granted the counties power to levy a tax for the establishment of a fund which could be used to supplement the pension being awarded by the state to the confederate veterans and their widows. After this act was approved, Fairfax County did not take action to put it into effect for several years until on April 3, 1912 a motion was made at the Board of Supervisors



meeting on the request of Captain John N. Ballard that the Board make a levy for the aid of disabled confederate soldiers.<sup>27</sup> When the Board met on March 5, 1913 the county attorney was requested to ascertain from the Judge of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, the right of the Board to levy a tax in favor of the confederate soldiers, sailors, widows, etc., and to determine what was meant by indigent soldiers, sailors, widows etc.<sup>28</sup> At the April 2, 1913 meeting, the Board proceeded to fix and did levy a tax for the year 1913, for the aid, care and support of the maimed, disabled, afflicted and indigent confederate soldiers living in the county, and the needy and indigent widows of confederate soldiers under the act of the Legislature of Virginia approved March 14, 1908, and of any and all acts passed by said Legislature in respect thereto at five cents on the \$100.00 valuation of real estate, personal property, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines in the county.<sup>29</sup>

In anticipation of the Fairfax County Confederate Pension Act being passed, Mr. Robert Wiley, the Commander of Marr Camp at that time, reported to the court that said camp had appointed a committee of citizens of the county consisting of one taxpayer from each of the six magisterial districts before whom all applications should be made for aid, care and support. The first name on the list was Captain J. N. Ballard for the Centreville District.<sup>30</sup> John continued to serve on this board for many years and in 1920 when he had reached the age of 81, he was still actively engaged with this work and held the position of Chairman of the Confederate Pension Board.<sup>31</sup>

One of the acts of benevolence expressed by John and Mary Ballard occurred on July 7, 1915 when they conveyed a small parcel of land, which measured approximately 50 by 100 feet, to six trustees, three from New Jersey and three from Fairfax, one being their son James. Their reasons for making this conveyance were stated in the deed as follows:

In trust for the specific purpose of allowing any person or persons the privilege of erecting on said lot or parcel of land appropriate monuments or markers commemorating the death of any Confederate or Federal soldier who fell in the battle fought on the Fruit Vale Farm, which was fought on the 1st day of September, 1862, being known as the Battle of Ox Hill or Chantilly.

It is covenanted by the said party of the first part that visitors to the said lot shall have the right of ingress and egress to the said lot for foot passengers over such portions of the said farm as the then owners may designate.<sup>32</sup>

In recent years there has been doubt expressed over who may be the rightful owners of the property.<sup>33</sup> The sole survivor of the original six trustees, Charles F. Hopkins of Boonton, New Jersey executed a deed on

August 11, 1932 conveying the lot to the state of New Jersey. This deed has been the subject of much controversy and is especially questionable by the author, since it was never the intention of John and Mary that the entire parcel would belong to the state of New Jersey. The pipe fence surrounding the markers commemorating the two Union Generals only occupies the southeast corner of the lot.

Since 1932, very little was done to maintain or improve the property, except by local citizens, until 1960 when the Civil War Centennial Commission of both the State of New Jersey and the County of Fairfax combined efforts and petitioned the court with nominations of six new trustees asking that they be accepted by the court and appointed as substitute trustees under the deed.<sup>34</sup>

The nominees were appointed and on September 1, 1962 a commemorative program marking the centennial of the battle was presented at the site, sponsored jointly by the aforementioned centennial commissions joined by the New York Civil War Centennial Commission and the Virginia Civil War Commission.

It has been suggested by a few historians that the monuments are not on the site where General Kearney died, but the fact that the location was designated in the deed as beginning at a certain stump known as the stump of the Kearney tree, which is said to have been the tree where General Kearney reclined in death, seems to make a very strong case against contradictions. Since Captain Ballard was frequently visited by veterans of both armies who came back to study the battle or just to see once more the field where they were participants in the action, with many of them staying for several days in his home while most of that time they were engaged in the exchange of their reminiscence of experiences encountered in the war, it seems very unlikely that the site was selected without careful consideration of the facts.

The original deed did not specify a particular area for the right of way to the monument site, but following the death of Mary in 1927, her children filed a suit in chancery asking the court to appoint commissioners for the purpose of dividing the property among her heirs as directed in her will.<sup>35</sup>

When the survey was made by Joseph Berry, the county surveyor, the plat indicated that the monument lot fell in lot No. 2, containing 27.5 acres, which was allotted to her daughter Varina K. Byrne, and the right of way to the monument site was a 20 foot outlet to the county road, now West Ox Road, passing through lot No. 1, which was allotted to the heirs of James W. Ballard, and continued for a short distance into lot No. 2, to the monument lot.<sup>35a</sup>

Today the battle for the field has been lost to developers, except for a small amount of acreage in the vicinity of the monuments which has been proposed for development into a park by an organization known as the Chantilly Battlefield Association.<sup>36</sup>

In the fall of 1922 following several weeks of illness, Captain Ballard, who had survived the terrible realities of battle where friends and foes were falling by scores, and every species of missile was flying through the air, threatening each instant to send one into eternity, after having been wounded on nine separate occasions in a war fought sixty years ago, paid his last debt to nature.<sup>37</sup> He died at his home near Legato on Friday, October the thirteenth. He was one of the oldest and most beloved citizens of Fairfax County and the news of his passing away was a shock to the community, causing sincere sorrow. His funeral took place the following Monday evening and was attended by the members of Marr Camp and a multitude of those who had known and respected him in life. His body was laid in its last resting place in Fairfax Cemetery near the remains of his three children who had pre-deceased him and a short distance from the monument which stands on the mound overlooking the entire cemetery, as it did on that October day thirty-two years before when John presented it to the Ladies Memorial Association. He was survived by his widow, Mary, and his son Robert T. Ballard of Herndon; Miss Maggie Ballard, living at the old home place; Mrs. Issac T. Long of Herndon and Mrs. Rena Byrne of Indiana.<sup>38</sup>

Knowing the certainty of death and that the days of the brave cavalier were surely coming to an end, John wrote his last will and testament. The will was dated May 14, 1921 and again as he had lived his entire life it was written in simplicity, using no eloquent language, as follows:

I hereby assign and transfer and set over unto my wife, Lillie Reid Ballard, all the Property, real, personal and mixed, of which I am now possessed.

J.N. Ballard

The will was probated December 1, 1922.<sup>39</sup>

Although Mary's given name was Mary Lillie Reid Thrift, John always addressed her as Lillie. When they applied for their marriage license they filed as J. N. Ballard and Lillie Thrift and as written in his will he refers to her as Lillie Reid Ballard, but most of the legal documents refer to her as Mary.

After John's death Mary remained on the farm with her daughter Margaret (Maggie), who was still living at home. In 1925 Mary applied for the confederate pension which had become a reality due to the efforts of her late husband. In the September term of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, September 30, 1925 the court approved a \$30.00 payment to her and eighty other persons. Unfortunately, Mary was only able to benefit from the pension for a short time. She was on the roll for the September term of 1926. On January 4, 1927 she died of pneumonia at her home near Pender. Her obituary contained the following information:

Mrs. Ballard was the daughter of Capt. Thrift and was raised by her uncle, Mr. Wm. Ayre at his home near Chantilly. She was a cousin of Mrs. George Harrison of Herndon.

Mrs. Ballard was a devoted church worker and highly esteemed member of the Fairfax Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Her many lovable qualities endeared her to a large circle of friends and relatives. She leaves four children and several grand children. She was the daughter and wife of confederate soldiers and deeply attached to the Southern cause.<sup>40</sup>

Mary died having written her will which was dated February 1, 1923. She asked that the farm be divided between her children and Jimmie's children (they representing one heir) giving to each an equal share, with the exception of Maggie. She wished her to have the house and fifty acres of land because "she has been with us, and had to bear with our peculiarities, etc. and has been faithful." In ending the will she wrote the following:

I am writing this with the earnest hope, that you all may see, and realize, that I wish to be fair and just to all, and with a heart full of love and affection for each one of you, I am

Your Mother  
Mrs. John N. Ballard<sup>41</sup>

The will was admitted to probate on February 10, 1927 and her son Robert T. Ballard was appointed administrator of the estate.

Following the death of Mary her son proceeded to carry out his administration duties. He filed a chancery suit in 1927 asking the court to appoint commissioners to divide the land equally in value as directed in his mother's will.<sup>42</sup> When the land had been partitioned into smaller parcels this started the further division and selling until Maggie's lot with the house was the only large parcel remaining from the original farm. Maggie had married August L. Albrecht and they lived there until her death on May 8, 1943. Her husband remained there until his death in 1964 and the place was then sold. Mr. Albrecht was the last member of the family to have lived on the Fruit Vale Farm.

Today all that remains of the house are some portions of the original foundation which are in a privately owned yard on the south side of Hanger Road. Many years ago one of the Millan sisters, who were immediate neighbors, although nearly blind, painted the house from memory. The painting is still in the possession of one of the descendants of the Ballard family.

Following the example set by their father, two of John's sons became military men. James W. entered the service during the Spanish American

War, when he enlisted as a corporal in the 3rd Virginia Volunteer Infantry, organized in Fairfax and known as the Fairfax Light Infantry, United States Army, Company I. He was later assigned to the 43rd regiment of volunteers in the Philippines and served with the expeditionary forces in France, attaining the rank of Captain. In civilian life he was the Cashier of the Fairfax National Bank, and an attorney at Fairfax Courthouse. After all of the rigors and life threatening experiences encountered while in the service, he died on January 23, 1920 due to complications from the flu which he contracted during the epidemic of 1918 and was buried with military honors in the family plot in Fairfax Cemetery. He was survived by his wife, Margaret Lewis Goodwin, and two children, Margaret L. and Edward G., who were eight and ten years of age respectively.

The other son with military ambitions was John P. Ballard. Although he was too young for service in the Spanish American War, he served with the expeditionary forces in the Philippines where he died at Bantangas on June 23, 1909. He was never married.<sup>43</sup>

Another tragic loss was sustained by the family when their daughter Ella, who was only thirty and unmarried, died on December 11, 1918. She was also buried in the family plot in Fairfax Cemetery.

Their son Robert married Georgia Blanch Sisson and he became a merchant operating a store at Pender and later in Oakton. He died on October 13, 1948 and was buried in the Flint Hill Cemetery near Oakton. The oldest daughter, Lillie Thrift married Issac T. Long on April 28, 1909.<sup>44</sup> They owned a farm on the Ox Road near Floris where the author's mother was employed by them when she was young. They later moved to Herndon where they lived until the time of Lillie's death on December 16, 1963. The youngest of their daughters, Varina Katherine, or Rena, a name more familiar to her family and friends, was married to Francis Lambert Byrne, Jr. on April 9, 1913. They lived in Harrisonburg for a short time before returning to Fairfax and later moving to Indiana where they remained for the rest of their lives.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>. *Fairfax Herald*, Fairfax Virginia, Obituary, 20 October 1922. Hereinafter cited as *Fairfax Herald*.

<sup>2</sup>. *1850 U.S. Census*, Albermarle County, Va.

<sup>3</sup>. *Chataigne's Virginia Gazetteer and Classified Business Directory*. J. H. Chataigne, Richmond, Virginia 1884-5. Also *Virginia Business Directory and Gazetteer*, Richmond, Hill Directory Company 1911.

<sup>4</sup>. The duties of a Clerk in the military often involved clerical work for the enlistment of recruits.

<sup>5</sup>. Brandy Station is located about 8 miles N.E. of the town of Culpeper in Culpeper County, Va.



- <sup>6</sup>. Organized by Captain Wm. G. Brawner and mustered into service on September 29, 1862. Later became Co. H. 15th Virginia Cavalry. *Prince William: The Story of its People and its Places*, by Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration, 1941, p. 234.
- <sup>7</sup>. *Mosby's Rangers*, James J. Williamson, New York, Ralph B. Kenyon, Publisher, 1896, p. 77.
- <sup>8</sup>. Landmark is located South of Route 50 between Middleburg and the Bull Run Mountains.
- <sup>9</sup>. Dr. Jesse Ewell, Jr. who with his wife Ellen donated the land for the church by deed dated August 10, 1847. Prince William Co. Deed Book 19, p. 415.
- <sup>10</sup>. Williamson. op. cit. William Ayre's home in 1863 was in Fauquier County.
- <sup>11</sup>. In February 1864 General H. J. Kilpatrick and Colonel Ulric Dahlgren with the Federal Cavalry had been ordered to make a surprise attack on Richmond for the purpose of releasing war prisoners. The Union Cavalry was turned back by a small hastily assembled home guard. Frustrated and separated from the main body of his command, Dahlgren, with 165 officers and men made his way into King and Queen County, pillaging and destroying property until he was mortally wounded in a night skirmish on March 2, 1864, near Stevensville, Va. A lock of Colonel Dahlgren's hair, his watch, ring and memoranda book were preserved by Juliet Jeffries Pollard, the grandmother of John G. Pollard, who became Governor of Virginia, and after the war they were sent to his father, Admiral John A. Dahlgren in Philadelphia. *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion*, compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, Oxford University Press, New York, 1940, p. 371.
- <sup>12</sup>. Before the war General Breckenridge had been the Vice President of the United States under James Buchanan and in 1860 he was nominated for the presidency by the southern faction. After his loss to Lincoln he offered his services to the Confederacy. He served as brigadier general in the war and in February 1865 he was appointed Secretary of War in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis.
- <sup>13</sup>. *The Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby*, Edited by Charles Wells Russell; Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1917, p. 380; *Ranger Mosby*, Virgil Carrington Jones, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1944, p. 284.
- <sup>14</sup>. *Fairfax Herald*, 14 September 1900.
- <sup>15</sup>. Fairfax County Will Book Z, p. 274. (Hereinafter cited as Will Book.)
- <sup>16</sup>. Will Book Z, p. 372.
- <sup>17</sup>. Fairfax County chancery causes final no. 94u, *P. P. Thomas and others vs. J. N. Ballard and others*, 1880.
- <sup>18</sup>. Medical report of Dr. W. D. McWhorton filed with application for artificial limb, May 19, 1884.
- <sup>19</sup>. *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Richmond, Va., Vol. 18:121, 1890.
- <sup>20</sup>. Deed from Richard T. Brown and Marion R. his wife to trustees "in trust for the following uses and purposes and none other to wit: as a burial place or cemetery for the reinterment of the bodies of such persons as the Ladies Memorial Association of said county of Fairfax, an association formed for the purpose and of which Miss Nannie Thomas is President, shall direct to be interred therein." Fairfax County Deed Book G4, p. 473. (Hereinafter cited as Deed Book)

- <sup>21</sup>. *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Richmond, Va., Vol. 18, p. 120-132, 1890.
- <sup>22</sup>. Fairfax County Circuit Court Minute Book 1897-82, p. 223; 1882-85, p. 93. (Hereinafter cited as Minute Book.)
- <sup>23</sup>. Minute Books 1886-91, p. 189, 193, 397; 1892-95, p. 463; 1896-1905, p. 46, 151; 1905-1909, p. 239; 1909-12, p. 466.
- <sup>24</sup>. *Fairfax Herald*, 29 May 1908.
- <sup>25</sup>. 1916 Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia, Davis Bottom, Superintendent Public Printing, Richmond, 1916. Confederate Pension Records, Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.
- <sup>26</sup>. *Fairfax Herald*, 8 October 1909.
- <sup>27</sup>. Fairfax County Board of Supervisors Minute Book, 3 April 1912, p. 400.
- <sup>28</sup>. *Ibid*, 5 March 1913, p. 443.
- <sup>29</sup>. *Ibid*, 2 April 1913, p. 445.
- <sup>30</sup>. Minute Book, 1912-14, p. 201.
- <sup>31</sup>. Fairfax Confederate pension records, Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.
- <sup>32</sup>. Deed Book X7, p. 570.
- <sup>33</sup>. *Newark Evening News*, 24 August 1960, Newark, New Jersey.
- <sup>34</sup>. Fairfax County Chancery Order Book 72, p. 526.
- <sup>35</sup>. Fairfax County chancery causes final no. 206, *Ballard vs. Ballard*, 1927.
- <sup>35<sup>a</sup></sup>. Deed Book, E10, p. 71.
- <sup>36</sup>. Letter from Edward T. Wenzel to the Historical Society of Fairfax County, 26 April 1987.
- <sup>37</sup>. Conversation with John Lambert Byrne, 5 September 1987.
- <sup>38</sup>. *The Fairfax Herald*, October 1922.
- <sup>39</sup>. Will Book 10, p. 75.
- <sup>40</sup>. *The Herndon Observer*, Herndon, Va., 9 January 1927.
- <sup>41</sup>. Will Book 12, p. 40.
- <sup>42</sup>. Fairfax County chancery causes *op. cit.* *Ballard vs. Ballard*.
- <sup>43</sup>. Gravestone in Fairfax Cemetery.
- <sup>44</sup>. Marriage license, Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.



# Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park 1730-1980 The Land and Its Owners

by  
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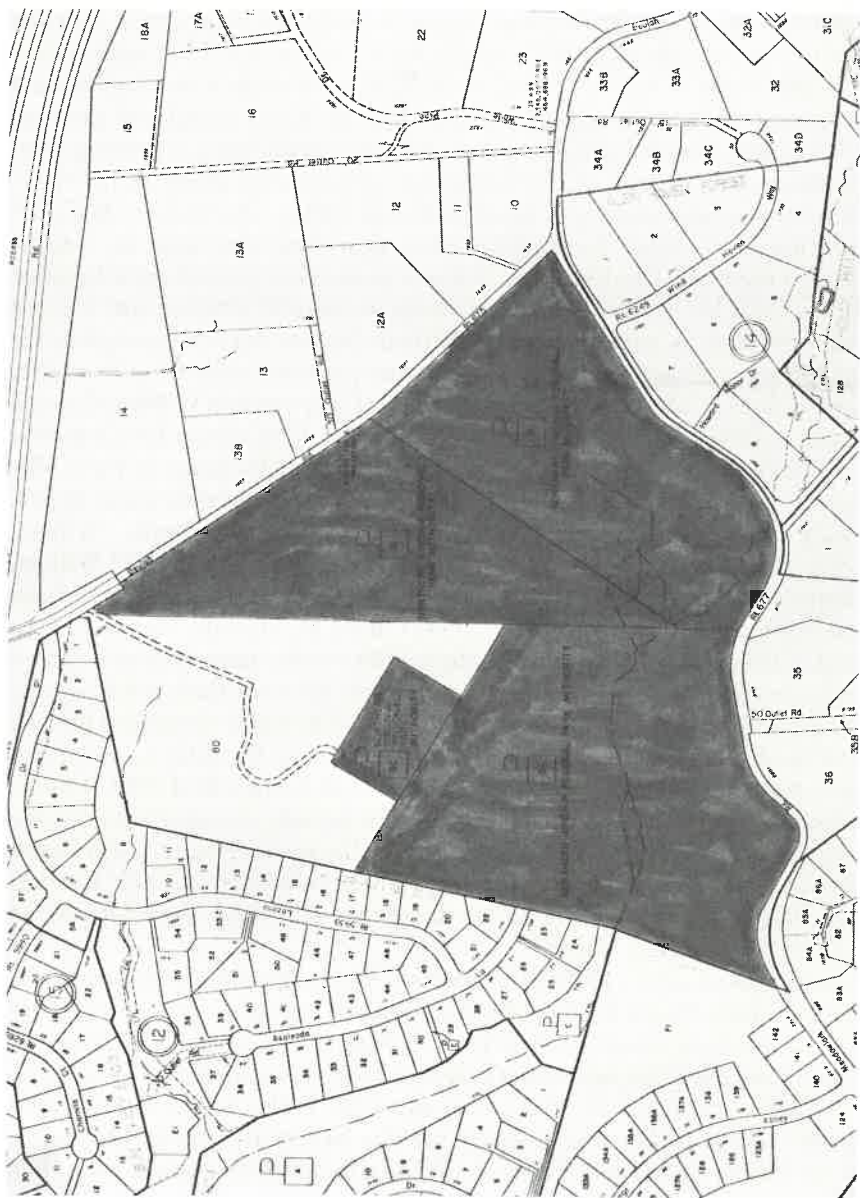
Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park in Vienna, Virginia, is a tract of approximately seventy-five acres. Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner C. Means gave fifty-three acres to the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority in 1980. The Park Authority acquired an additional twenty-one and a half acres, adjoining the Meanses' tract, by condemnation in 1984. The tract was originally part of a land grant to William Gunnell in 1730 of nine hundred and sixty-six acres.

Despite missing documents and family papers which would have helped to illuminate the lives of people living on the land, there is still a story worth telling. Fortunately there are documents in the Fairfax County Courthouse which contain a wealth of information. Law suits contain letters and depositions, wills offer some intimate family details, and deeds provide names and dates for land ownership.

For help in researching this project, I am especially grateful to Beth Mitchell and to Connie Ring at the Fairfax Circuit Court Archives. Beth taught me to think in poles instead of feet in plotting the land, and Connie assisted in finding those documents which seemingly could never be found. My thanks also to Beryl Ramsey for sharing her notes on Andrew Chapel, and to Dorothy Werner of the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority for her encouragement, and for making it possible for me to know Caroline and Gardiner Means. The Meanses were enthusiastic about this project from the beginning, and were generous in sharing vignettes for the years after 1935. I would also like to thank my adviser, Dr. Peter Henriques of George Mason University, and Dr. Desmond Dinan, also of George Mason, for reading and improving the manuscript.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Gardiner C. Means, who died Feb. 15, 1988. I regret he did not live to see it in print.

M.K.B.



The shaded area represents Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park superimposed on the map from *Beginning at a White Oak*, by Beth Mitchell, 1977. Information from Fairfax Deed Book 5438-286.

Eighteenth-century tobacco planters in the older settlements of Virginia's Northern Neck abandoned their fields, usually after three crops, to look for fresh lands and more room. They migrated from Westmoreland County, coming up the Potomac River to Stafford County, now Fairfax, and took up grants from the Northern Neck Proprietors. They settled their sons upon the streams of that new land, and their sons combined a persistent devotion to raising tobacco with an active social and political life. William Gunnell was such a man, a landed gentleman, migrating from Westmoreland around 1729 when he was granted nine hundred and sixty-six acres on the lower branches of Difficult Run on December 16, 1730.<sup>1</sup>

Although George Washington once described the area as "mirey, inconvenient and troublesome," it is safe to say that Gunnell grew tobacco on his land, for tobacco was a cash crop in colonial Virginia and it was a major medium of exchange.<sup>2</sup> The Difficult Run tract was a good place for the tobacco planter to spread out; colonial planters required at least fifty acres for each laborer. This tract was one of three which William Gunnell was granted in 1729 and 1730. Earlier grants in 1729 were a four hundred acre tract on Pimmits Run, and two hundred and fifty acres on Four Mile Run. The Pimmits tract was in Falls Church, on land where he chose to live, and it was also the location of the upper church of Truro Parish. "William Gunnell's Church," as it was called, is today the Falls Church.<sup>3</sup> William Gunnell was probably not as wealthy as others who acquired very large tracts; he did not purchase other lands during his lifetime. Gunnell's total land holdings at the time of his death in 1760 was the same sixteen hundred and sixteen acres granted thirty years earlier. He nevertheless was among the landed gentry, and he encouraged his sons to settle upon the Difficult Run land when he deeded eight hundred acres of the nine hundred and sixty-six acre tract to William and Henry in 1741. In his will of 1760, William Gunnell mentioned that the land was to be equally divided between the two sons, "excepting that the plantation and houses whereon my son Henry now lives is to be on the part or portion of the said Henry's land." Gunnell bequeathed his other lands to his daughters, Elizabeth Saunders, Sarah Saunders, and Mary Darne.<sup>4</sup>

Henry Gunnell (c. 1705-1792) married Catherine Daniel and they had nine children. Henry lived on the nine hundred and sixty-six acre tract, and was living there when he wrote his will. Henry was elected Vestryman of Truro Parish in 1751, and when a part of Truro became the Fairfax Parish in 1765, he was elected to that parish also.<sup>5</sup> The Falls Church was included in the Fairfax Parish, and since by law, he had to attend church once in every four weeks, Henry Gunnell still had a long ride to church. Attending church in eighteenth-century Virginia was often as businesslike as attending court. Philip Vickers Fithian, tutor of the Robert Carter children

at Nomini Hall, found the churches on Sundays both religious and commercial; advertisements were tacked upon the church door, and the men discussed business before and after services.<sup>6</sup> Henry Gunnell was appointed Justice of the Peace for Fairfax County in 1757. This was a move into a secure place in the Fairfax gentry class, and a most respected one in the colony of Virginia, but when the courthouse was moved from nearby "Springfield," present-day Tyson's Corner, to distant Alexandria in 1752, Henry Gunnell had to traverse bad roads, often impassable during rainy and winter thaw seasons, to get to court. He was once fined ten shillings in 1772 for not attending. The courthouse was not moved to its Fairfax location until eight years after his death.<sup>7</sup>

Gunnell also held the powerful and responsible position of inspector of the tobacco warehouse at the Falls of the Potomac from 1749 to 1762. The Tobacco Act of 1730 assured that Virginia tobacco would be of pure quality, and not "trash," as impure tobacco was called. Inspectors would burn trash tobacco in the presence of its owner.<sup>8</sup> Henry Gunnell also served in other capacities in the county; he received a military commission in 1758, and in 1768 he became captain of the militia. He was appointed sheriff in 1772, and he was a member of the Committee of Safety for Fairfax in 1774.<sup>9</sup>

Henry Gunnell's will speaks of his many possessions: six slaves, three beds, six chairs, a seal-skin trunk, a black walnut chest and pine tables. His livestock, ten head of sheep, one young black horse, a mare, and hogs, suggest that he was indeed the farmer. Typical of an eighteenth-century will and a comment on the times, he left his wife a frying pan and warming pan, three pots and pot hooks, and all his knives and forks, pewter and earthen ware, and forty barrels of Indian corn.

It is not certain just how much land Henry Gunnell owned on Difficult Run. From his father's will, it would appear that he inherited only four hundred acres of the nine hundred and sixty-six acre Difficult Run land, but in later deeds and wills, and in plotting the land, there is a clear indication that he acquired the entire tract. His brother, William, survived him by two years, but there is little information about William or where he lived. Describing it as his home, Henry bequeathed two hundred and seventy acres of land on the west and upper end of the tract to his son, John. To his son, Robert, he left "all the rest of the land on the upper side of piney branch." This is a good example of the vagueness of eighteenth-century deeds and wills; the two sons received only a portion of the upper tract. In Henry's will, he mentioned a previous deed of gift to his son Thomas for over two hundred acres "whereon he [Thomas] now lives, and fearing that the deed may be defective," Henry bequeathed the land to Thomas. This was the whole upper portion of the nine hundred and sixty-

six acre tract.<sup>10</sup> The remainder of the tract went to sons William, Henry, and James. His daughters, Ann Brent, Mary, and Catherine, received only cash from the sale of other lands.

Thomas Gunnell was appointed Justice of the Peace for Fairfax County Court in 1787. In 1788 the Alexandria courthouse was in such a bad state of repair that the court ordered the sheriff to levy tobacco to repair the existing courthouse or build a new one. Along with George Mason and ten other justices, Thomas Gunnell objected to the levying of tobacco on grounds that the court had no such rights. Ten justices, on the other hand, voted for the power to tax tobacco.<sup>11</sup> A 1789 Act of Assembly directed the court to levy enough to build a new courthouse. By 1800, the new courthouse stood at the intersection of Little River Turnpike and Ox Road, and Alexandria became part of the District of Columbia. The first day of court in the new building was held on April 21, 1800, but no Gunnell was present as Justice.<sup>12</sup>

Although Henry Gunnell and his son, Thomas, were contemporaries of George Washington, they were not members of what one historian has called "the Fairfax world:" the world of fox hunting and visiting back and forth by the Fairfax family and George Washington.<sup>13</sup> The Gunnell name does not appear in any of Washington's diaries, and only Thomas Gunnell is mentioned briefly in a letter referring to a small parcel of land Washington owned near Difficult Bridge. Always concerned about his land, and whether or not he was being offered a good deal, Washington went to the area of Difficult Run in November 1799 to view the boundaries of some land he had purchased. Taking Thomas Gunnell with him to help find the corners and lines, Washington decided that the land in question was worth neither his time nor his money, declaring the area "not only hilly and broken, but much worn and gullied." The land in question was far north of the place where Thomas Gunnell lived and it was cold and raining on that November day, but Gunnell was probably most impressed to have been selected as one of three local residents to accompany the former President of the United States. Washington was in the area for three days, staying at Wiley's Tavern, only a few miles from Gunnell land.<sup>14</sup>

Thomas Gunnell survived his father by only eight years. He died in 1801, leaving a widow, Elizabeth Minor Gunnell and five children. Elizabeth Gunnell then married Robert Gunnell, Thomas's brother.<sup>15</sup> Robert Gunnell was unlike his father and his brother in that he neither held, nor apparently aspired to, elected county offices. Moreover, he was among the first generation of Gunnells who did not owe their allegiance to the established church.

Although there were other religious beliefs in Fairfax County before the Revolutionary War, until 1785 the Church of England was the dominant religion. Dissenters, past and present, were noted by Reverend Charles Green in his 1748 list of tithables for Truro Parish. "Jno Cannady 2



[tithables] formerly a Papist now comes to church,” Green wrote. Others were described as Quakers or Presbyterians. William Gunnell was listed only as having three white tithables and two black tithables with no further description of his religious preference, an indication that he was well within the established church.<sup>16</sup> When the Revolutionary War ended and the Church of England was disestablished, people worshiped in other denominations freely. It is not surprising that Robert Gunnell chose Methodism, for Methodism had always had a special appeal to the humble, the compassionate, and the less propertied man.<sup>17</sup> While very little is known about Robert Gunnell, his will gives some insight into his religious and social behavior. One example concerns his slaves.

It is not unusual to see antebellum wills manumit slaves, despite the hostility toward manumission. In 1793, Virginia legislation required every free Negro to be registered, and further legislation in 1806 compelled freed slaves to be removed from the state within twelve months after manumission. The 1806 law was not strictly enforced in Fairfax County because there are records of freed slaves who remained in Virginia.<sup>18</sup> What seems to be different about Robert Gunnell's will is that he not only set his slaves free, he also left cautious and detailed instructions for their removal and subsequent care. “My will and desire is that all my negroes be free I say be free they and all their increase forever and forever,” he wrote in 1816.<sup>19</sup> It was his wish that the Reverend William Watters, the first itinerant Methodist preacher in America, and Henry Gunnell, Jr., his step-son, guard and protect them, hire them out, and when they had sufficient wages, be removed to Nashville, Tennessee, where they would remain free. Any money left from their wages was to be distributed among them. If the guardians did not act according to his wishes, he wrote further, the county court of Fairfax should take their bonds and act for them. A second will which Gunnell wrote in 1817 changed the language slightly and asked that his slaves be removed to some place for “colonizing free blacks,” and that they be clothed and paid eight dollars. There is no record of manumission for Martin Gunnell, the mulatto child of John Gunnell, Robert's brother. In his will of 1800, John asked that three year old Martin serve Robert Gunnell until the age of sixteen and be bound to him until he reached the age of twenty-four, then be freed. Whether or not the slaves were taken out of the state as Gunnell wished, nineteen of them appeared at Fairfax Court in 1828, an elapse of eleven years, to register their freedom.<sup>20</sup>

Robert must have been greatly influenced by the Methodist doctrine. In their 1816 conference in Baltimore, the Methodist Committee on Slavery wrote that the members of the Church “shall not sell or buy slaves except for the express purpose of keeping husbands and wives, parents and children together, or for principles of humanity.” The Committee ordered that every case of violation of this principle be dealt with according to

discipline. Robert Gunnell adhered to the Methodist principle and kept families together. Among his manumitted slaves were eleven with last name of Alexander and six with last name of Lee.<sup>21</sup>

There is not enough information about Robert Gunnell to say that he was a poor farmer, yet a recent researcher has found that the southern propertied, wealthy nineteenth century husband usually left his estate in the hands of male executors, whereas the poorer man, by contrast, was more likely to appoint his wife executrix of his will. Suggesting that a woman could not manage a large and complicated estate, the evidence shows that the less wealthy man was more than willing to leave his wife in charge of meager holdings. It is interesting that Robert Gunnell stood alone among other Gunnells in naming his wife, Elizabeth, as executrix of his will.<sup>22</sup>

Robert did not have children of his own, but he cared for the welfare of Elizabeth's children, even to the point of making one of them the subject of a large part of his will. Robert had confidence in his wife's abilities to manage his estate and her own affairs, but it seems clear that he did not believe she could manage her son William, who apparently lived with a black woman, an alleged prostitute. In his first will of 1816, Robert bequeathed two tracts of land in Fairfax County to Henry Gunnell, Jr., in trust for the benefit of William who called himself William of Thomas, on condition that he "shall not allow Sarah Ambrose nor none of her children or other Family connection of hers to reside with him. . . ." More specifically, William was to live with Sarah Ambrose "not by the year or even by the week, or day," or he would forfeit all benefits. Further, William had in his possession a slave belonging to his mother, and if he did not "deliver up said negro to his mother forthwith" he would again forfeit the right to the land. Apparently William of Thomas had not changed his ways by 1817 when Robert revised his will and excluded him finally. When both the 1816 and the 1817 documents were presented to the court after Robert's death, William of Thomas appeared with his attorney and asked that the court consider the will of 1816, the one which made him a devisee. The court, however, decided that the 1817 will of Robert Gunnell was his definitive will.

Sarah Ambrose was born in Virginia in 1776, and she came under neither the 1793 law prohibiting the immigration of free blacks into the commonwealth, nor the 1806 legislation ordering newly manumitted slaves to leave the state. She was apparently born free and had never been a slave. Moreover, it appears that she did not abide by the codes laid down by the Virginia General Assembly barring free blacks from owning slaves; she owned a slave in 1856, who was more than likely her mate.<sup>23</sup> She also inherited everything belonging to William of Thomas. When he died in 1822, he left all of his property, both real and personal, to Sarah Ambrose, then forty-six years old. William left Sarah a little over three hundred



dollars in cash and a two-hundred acre tract which he had previously bought. The land was located to the west of, and adjoining, the Gunnell tract, but was not part of it. William even went as far as bequeathing to Ambrose any part of his mother's estate coming to him after her death. Notwithstanding her son's request, Elizabeth did not enlarge Ambrose's coffers when she died five years later.<sup>24</sup>

Surprisingly enough, free black women in the antebellum south were gainfully employed, if in menial occupations, and they owned property. That they were often heads of households is a product of the laws forbidding them to marry whites or slaves; they could marry only free black men. While they did have a degree of autonomy, they were the poorest of all economic groups, and it is not surprising that a number of them took up prostitution.<sup>25</sup> Sarah Ambrose's livelihood, however, so antagonized one prominent Fairfax County attorney that he exploited her and her inheritance.

In 1854, to pay a debt to George W. Hunter, Jr., she deeded him about seventy acres in return for his promise to build her a house on five acres of the land. Hunter joined this land to another tract and sold the one hundred and fifty-four acre parcel for twelve dollars an acre.<sup>26</sup> Two years later, in 1856, when Sarah still did not have her house, and it seemed clear to her that Hunter did not intend to keep his promise, she took him to court. Her deposition charged that Hunter had deceived her by agreeing to build the house just to get her land. Sarah, by then eighty-one years old, had no use for a large amount of land, but Hunter had driven her from her cabin, she said, and her good intentions were to pay him what she owed him and secure "a little home for herself."

Hunter countered with excuses and moral charges against Ambrose. He charged, for instance, that his fence was constantly torn down by persons visiting the house of this "old woman which was of ill fame," that she even had a convict living with her until a Commonwealth warrant made him leave the state. Hunter thought his treatment of Sarah had been fair, having regularly supplied her with necessities. He denied having driven her from the cabin, but admitted threatening her for "trafficking with his servants and being improperly with them." Hunter also rejected Sarah's argument that she had contributed as much land to the one hundred and fifty-four acre parcel as she claimed, even though nearly half of the tract was indeed Ambrose's land inherited from William of Thomas. The court considered both arguments and ordered that the land in question be surveyed, and the cost of a cabin be ascertained and reported at the next term. Ambrose asked however that the suit be dismissed after Hunter settled with her out of court. There is no record of what Sarah received from Hunter, but in 1860, the value of her property was sixty dollars.<sup>27</sup> That a negro woman could take a white male to court in 1856 contradicts traditional views and speaks of the liberalism in Fairfax County prior to the Civil War. Sarah Ambrose did have redress.

Land-poor and in debt, Ambrose sold small portions of her inherited property between 1848 and 1854, and she often put the remainder in trust. While land normally sold for five to fifteen dollars an acre, Sarah Ambrose sold her land for a nominal sum of little more than a dollar an acre. In September 1848, she sold fifty-four acres to one William Butler for fifty-four dollars.<sup>28</sup> The value of land in Fairfax had steadily dropped since the beginning of the nineteenth-century, but as the county headed toward a severe economic depression in the 1830s and 1840s, landowners were sent into financial ruin. Large family estates were broken up and sold for smaller farms, or they were put on the auction blocks. Such was the fate of Sully Plantation, the former home of the Lee family. It was sold at auction in 1838 and the purchaser died three years later deeply in debt with three mortgages on the property.<sup>29</sup> The upper Gunnell tract would succumb to a similar fate in the same decade.

Elizabeth Gunnell moved to Frederick County, Virginia sometime between the writing of her will in 1827 and her death two years later. Near the end of her life she desired the comfort of her only surviving son, Henry Gunnell, Jr., residing near Winchester. She had survived two husbands, Thomas Gunnell and Robert Gunnell, both of whom were fine, upstanding and responsible gentlemen of Fairfax County. She had endured both the scandalous antics of her son, William of Thomas, and the irresponsible behavior of John Stanhope, the husband of her only daughter, Ann.

Naturally enough, Sarah Ambrose's name was absent from Elizabeth Gunnell's will, but her son-in-law was specifically excluded from the benefit of several pieces of furniture bequeathed to Ann, and a small parcel of property which Elizabeth intended to purchase. "I do not wish John Stanhope the Husband of the said Nancy [Ann] Stanhope to be at all benefited by anything bequeathed in this my last will," she wrote in 1827. Unfortunately, Elizabeth Gunnell made no disposition of her dower slaves, later proved to be worth about five thousand dollars, or of her lands, including the two-hundred-and-four-acre upper Difficult tract. Notwithstanding Elizabeth Gunnell's failure to bequeath her property, there would surely have been a more congenial settlement between her two surviving children, Ann and Henry, had John Stanhope acted in a more responsible manner. Because of his actions, the upper portion of the tract and the distribution of Elizabeth's slaves were not settled in Ann Stanhope's lifetime.<sup>30</sup>

John Stanhope was, unfortunately, "embarrassed a good deal in his circumstances," Henry Gunnell, Jr. said of him in 1832.<sup>31</sup> He was excluded from his mother-in-law's will perhaps because he had already made several inappropriate dispositions of his wife's interests, one of which was legally questionable. In 1808, he appeared at the Fairfax Court House with a deed selling his wife's interest in the two hundred and four acre upper tract to Robert Gunnell, Ann Stanhope's stepfather and uncle. The court

believed that the deed was the sole act of John Stanhope, therefore three Justices were ordered to go to Ann and examine her “privately and apart from John Stanhope” to determine whether or not she wished to sell her interest. This was a common practice, but it was especially appropriate to question John Stanhope’s actions. Apparently Ann was willing to defer to her husband’s wishes, and the deed was duly recorded.<sup>32</sup> By 1826, Stanhope was so deeply in debt that he sold a deed of trust to his sons, Lewis Stanhope and William Stanhope, consisting of four previous deeds of trust, twenty slaves, four beds, and fifteen head of cattle, as well as all right and title to his wife’s interest in lands. This was to pay a debt of one hundred and twenty dollars to one Thomas Fairfax. Slaves were considered personal property and the practice of selling them for cash was not unusual. The problem with selling these slaves, however, was that they were not Stanhope’s. They still belonged to Elizabeth Gunnell.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear that John Stanhope made life difficult for his wife, and it is equally clear that Ann Stanhope was handicapped by the laws concerning women. Having virtually no rights as a married woman, her frustrations were common among nineteenth-century women. Ann Stanhope could not represent herself in a legal document; her interests were vested in her husband, and after his death, in a trustee. Furthermore, if her husband was not conscientious about her interests—and John Stanhope was not—she was left in an intolerable position. After the death of John Stanhope, Ann did attempt to sort out the complications of her mother’s estate. But the letter she wrote to her brother Henry in 1832, an apparent letter of complaint, brought forth the plain truth of her position. An attorney in Winchester, Virginia attempted to convince her that she had already received everything her mother intended her to have. His letter admitted that Ann’s share of the dower slaves and of some cash was one-third; she had indeed signed a document attesting to that fact in 1829. But the author of the letter reminded her of the laws:

I have told your brother that the agreement signed by you on the 25th of August 1829 was and is a legal nullity. You were then a married woman, and incapable by law to make any contract. Neither he nor you knew this but it is so. Your interests as a distributee of your father and of your two brothers at that time August 25th 1829 belonged either to your husband or were vested in some trustee for your benefit or that of yourself and your children.

The attorney further informed Ann Stanhope that it was rumored that her husband, while living, had conveyed her interest to some questionable trustee; moreover, Stanhope’s creditors now demanded payment. The attorney advised Ann to find “some intelligent friend” to act for her.<sup>34</sup>

John Stanhope's embarrassed financial standing was not at all unusual in Fairfax County in the late 1830s, nor indeed in all of Northern Virginia. The growing of tobacco had virtually disappeared from Fairfax County, and holding slaves had become a financial burden. The sales of slaves to southern states and extensive manumission was widely practiced as the slave economy was no longer profitable.<sup>35</sup> Henry Gunnell, Jr. had twenty Stanhope slaves at his home near Winchester which he clearly could not keep "at this advanced age," he said. Fairfax County was in a financial and moral depression, and one of the causes, so residents thought, was soil exhaustion; they thought their land was worn out. Despite popular opinion, at least one observer had other ideas about the cause of the situation in Fairfax County.

In a series of articles for the *Richmond Whig* and reprinted in the *Alexandria Gazette*, an anonymous Virginian wrote: "How sad is the condition of that community, where useful labor is held in disrepute." He found Mount Vernon and Pohick Church to be in shambles; the fields were covered with briars and pines, and the descendants of "these old gentlemen" gone. He assailed those "sons of opulence" whose pastimes were fox hunting and deer chasing instead of the pursuit of agriculture.<sup>36</sup> Suggesting that Fairfax County farmers had been ignorant and at least lazy in their method of cultivation, he wrote:

It is a mistake to suppose that the lands of Fairfax have been completely exhausted by cultivation. The surface only has been impoverished by hard cropping, and shallow ploughing; and all that is necessary in order to turn up a virgin soil, is to put in the plough to double the depth it has hitherto gone. Such a method of cultivation as has prevailed here, would impoverish almost any soil.<sup>37</sup>

The writer found education as impoverished as the soil, and there seemed to be little incentive to read the dozen or so agriculture journals which sprang up in the South beginning in 1830.<sup>38</sup> The phrase "land-poor" had taken on new meaning, and Gunnell descendants had inherited a dire economic situation, one that had spread throughout Fairfax County in the 1830s. Whether because of the distressed economic situation, or whether having been forewarned by her family's circumstances, Nancy Allison, Ann Stanhope's daughter, placed herself in a somewhat more favorable situation.

In August 1838, a separate estate was set up between Gordon Allison and Nancy Stanhope for the benefit of Nancy on the eve of their marriage. Separate estates were usually set up after the marriage had taken place and after the husband had demonstrated his inability to stay out of debt, but it is not surprising that, having seen her mother's financial demise, Nancy acted more cautiously. Furthermore, Gordon Allison, a businessman and

owner of Earp's Ordinary at Fairfax Courthouse which he called Allison's Tavern, had seen others ruined in the Panic of 1837. By agreeing to a separate estate, all land and slaves in Nancy's name would be protected from Gordon Allison's creditors. Had Ann Stanhope acquired a separate estate, both she and her husband would have benefited.<sup>39</sup> In 1839, Nancy Allison brought a suit against the administrator of John Stanhope's estate, George W. Hunter, Jr. on behalf of herself, her only surviving brother Thomas Stanhope, and their nieces and nephews. The court commissioners subsequently settled and divided the upper portion of the Gunnell tract among the Stanhope heirs. Unfortunately, this division is missing from the records.<sup>40</sup>

It has been suggested by Lewis Gray, an agricultural historian, that general farming, known as the Pennsylvania system, and the use of clover were the catalysts which brought productiveness back to the soil. To be sure, much credit has been given to the introduction of clover and plaster in increasing soil productiveness in the early 1840s. But Gray points to the break-up of large family estates and the slave economy giving way to smaller tracts as the important factors in the return of prosperity to the soil. These smaller plots were used for grazing cattle, growing potatoes and for fruit orchards.<sup>41</sup>

Two years after the division of Stanhope land, the upper two hundred-and-four-acre Gunnell tract was broken up, as it began to pass into the hands of New Yorkers. In the spring of 1840, fifty-six families came to Fairfax from Dutchess County, New York. It is not clear why the first families came, but soon articles began to appear in the *Alexandria Gazette* about the low price of land and the "previously barren and deserted farms" being renovated with the "cheerful voice of the reaper, chaunting his harvest hymn." One such farmer told the *Richmond Whig* that the proximity to the District of Columbia, land near a public road where he could transport produce was what appealed to him. The farmer also mentioned the climate as being advantageous to his family, being away from the "cold and humid western part of New York." They were Quakers, but one cannot safely say that they came here to convert slaveholders. The writer of the articles, however, certainly praised them for using "free laborers, prompted by the hope of reward . . . labor rendered respectable." A few of them did hold slaves in Fairfax nevertheless.<sup>42</sup>

At least one of these New Yorkers was not welcomed by the neighbors adjacent to the old Gunnell land. In 1842, a Commissioner of Fairfax Court sold to Gilbert Purdy of Dutchess County, New York, a lot in Ann Stanhope's division, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three acres for four dollars and eighty-eight cents an acre. No sooner had Purdy taken possession of his land when his neighbor to the west of the Gunnell tract, one Thomas Emigh, seized and enclosed thirty-five acres, arguing that the land was his. Purdy brought an ejectment suit and the land was in dispute



for many years, but the court finally decided in Purdy's favor.<sup>43</sup> He kept the land for twelve years before selling it. That same year, Gordon and Nancy Allison sold to Jacob Eckert, another Dutchess County immigrant, the remaining one hundred and four acres in the Stanhope division for five dollars and seventy-six cents an acre. Eckert turned this parcel over to John Turner, also from Dutchess County, nine years later for the same price. John Turner apparently intended to stay in Fairfax when he brought his wife and four children, and purchased land in other areas of the county.<sup>44</sup> While the New Yorkers occupied the upper half of the Gunnell tract, the other half of the nine hundred and sixty-six acres remained in the hands of Gunnells. Despite Stanhope problems, the Gunnells remained a powerful family, and this is due in part to Major Henry Gunnell, brother of Thomas and Robert. Major Gunnell was probably the wealthiest of the Gunnells, accumulating land to give to his eight children. These Gunnells lived on the southern half of the tract for many years.

The Difficult Run tract had been divided into two parts since 1792 when Henry Gunnell bequeathed to his son, Thomas, the upper two hundred and four acres, and to sons Robert, John, James, William, and Henry the remaining lower tract. Robert acquired the upper tract through marriage to Thomas's widow after 1801 and the remaining lands in the hands of John, James, and William were either sold or bequeathed to their brother, Major Henry Gunnell.<sup>45</sup> By the early 1800s, Major Henry Gunnell's family was well established on the lower tract, and would remain there for many generations.

It would be appropriate at this point to mention the confusion over Gunnell names. One of George Washington's biographers described the problem of establishing the story of a large eighteenth-century Virginia family and their abundance of names as not unlike entering a drawing-room and seeing a blur of faces.<sup>46</sup> The Gunnells have surpassed the Washingtons in repeating family names; so many of them were named either William or Henry. Moreover, dates do not lessen the confusion when the Williams and the Henrys were contemporaries.

One Henry Gunnell, Jr. was the son of Thomas Gunnell, brother of Ann Stanhope, and nephew of Major Henry Gunnell. He married Mary Hurst. Major Henry Gunnell, also known as Henry Gunnell, Jr., was the son of Henry and Catherine Gunnell, and brother of Thomas and Robert.<sup>47</sup> Major Henry Gunnell married Sarah West, the daughter of Hugh West, Jr., a member of the House of Burgesses for Frederick County from 1756-1758.<sup>48</sup> It was probably not Major Henry Gunnell but Henry Gunnell, Jr. his nephew who was a Justice of the Peace in 1816, and one of the trustees of the Town of Providence in 1805.<sup>49</sup>

Major Henry Gunnell remained on the old Gunnell land and also purchased large parcels in other areas of Fairfax as well as Frederick Counties in Virginia, and also a tract in Kentucky. There were one hundred

and thirty-four acres of the Towlston Grange, land formerly belonging to Bryan, eighth Lord Fairfax, which Gunnell purchased in 1792 from Thomas Fairfax, son of Bryan. In 1794, Gunnell leased one hundred and forty acres from William Lyle south of the Difficult Run land for two lives, that of himself and his wife. Major Henry Gunnell had well over six thousand acres of land at the time of his death in 1821. Gunnell willed this vast amount of land to his eight children, making them landed Virginians, and along with the land, they inherited the slave economy. While not freeing his slaves, Henry insisted, however, that they be treated humanely. "I will here recommend to all my children to use those [N]egroes given them in a humane manner for I think Slavery a cruel thing in this reached [sic] world, who can account for it," he wrote in his will.<sup>50</sup>

His will was nine pages long, the most extensive of all Gunnell wills on record. In it, he freed his servant, London, and gave him seventeen acres. Henry bequeathed fifty dollars and two acres of land to the Baptists to build a church, and three acres more for a burying ground . . . "that all poor people shall have the right of burying their dead," he wrote. This property was land he bought from Sarah Monroe in 1811, and was located near Flint Hill.<sup>51</sup> There are markers at Flint Hill Cemetery for Henry's grandson, Hugh West Gunnell (1849-1925) and his family. In addition to land and slaves, he left to his wife, his five sons and three daughters, items reflecting his affluent lifestyle: one large silver teapot, silver spoons and a mustard pot, surveying instruments, books, and a large secretary "bought of Washington." This last item could have been purchased by Gunnell at a private sale of Mount Vernon furniture in 1802, after the death of Martha Washington.<sup>52</sup>

Henry Gunnell bequeathed five hundred and forty-seven acres of land, the greater part of the lower half of the old Gunnell tract, to his son William Henry Gunnell, including the mansion house tract in the center of it. It was not a mansion as one would speak of mansions today; a small building twenty-four by twenty-four by ten feet was termed a mansion house, distinguishing it from slave cabins and tenant houses. Henry's wife, Sarah, apparently did not wish to give up her house regardless of the size of it, and she went to court to express dissatisfaction with her husband's will. A survey was made and the house along with one hundred and forty-five acres of William Henry's land was accordingly set aside as dower land for Sarah Gunnell in 1823. The very well-drawn plat shows the location of the house surrounded by orchards and streams.<sup>53</sup> The remainder of the Gunnell tract, some two hundred acres along with seventeen hundred and seventy-five acres of land outside the Gunnell tract, went to Henry's sons, Joshua and Bushrod. The two sons together were bequeathed much more land, more slaves, and more silver than their three brothers.

Henry Gunnell's administrators paid thirty-seven dollars in February, 1823, for the hire of a nurse for Bushrod, and a Committee was appointed



to handle his estate in 1836 when he was declared insane.<sup>54</sup> Joshua C. Gunnell, born in 1811, and the youngest of Henry's children, is a prominent name in Fairfax County history. He was most certainly a scholar; there are numerous notations in his father's accounts for money paid for books, papers, and tuition, and he was willed all of Henry's books. Joshua was, unfortunately, often intoxicated, and perhaps difficult to handle.<sup>55</sup> In 1829, Joshua lived in Fairfax County with his brother, George West Gunnell, twenty-two years his senior. One year later, George West sent him to his mother, Sarah, in Frederick County where he was said to have been drunk on more than one occasion. He was declared "perfectly sober" in 1838, but again "malining George West Gunnell and under the influence of drink," six years later.<sup>56</sup> Despite his alleged drunkenness, Joshua C. Gunnell was a nineteenth century gentleman and he was an important citizen of Fairfax County. He married a cousin, Eliza Jane Stanhope, the granddaughter of Ann Stanhope, and they had six children. Joshua and Eliza Jane inherited land from both the Gunnells and the Stanhopes. In 1860 their real property was worth over ten thousand dollars.<sup>57</sup> Joshua was a Justice of the Peace for Fairfax County and was the presiding Justice the day of the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. An article appeared on March 10, 1863 in the *Alexandria Gazette* reporting his arrest, along with others, on suspicion of having sympathies with the Confederacy. They were taken from Fairfax Courthouse, where they were arrested, to Old Capitol Prison in Washington for a short time.<sup>58</sup>

In the decade before the Civil War, Joshua and his brothers were well off. They were slave owners and gentlemen farmers, and they had good reason to be optimistic. The Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire Railroad, later the Washington and Old Dominion, came through their property in the mid-1850s when residents from Leesburg to Alexandria were delighted to have this more efficient form of transportation. The Gunnells and their neighbors were more than willing to sell portions of their land to the railroad. Construction on the track began in February 1855, and in that month, commissioners appointed by the Fairfax Court met on Gunnell land to survey and determine the value of land taken. They were paid quite a high price of between twenty-one and eighty-five dollars an acre.<sup>59</sup> By the summer of 1859, the line was open from Leesburg to Alexandria with two trains running each way daily. The trains carried passengers, produce, and mail to Alexandria from Hunter's Mill and the newly named town of Vienna Station. There was talk of a possible link to Washington during these peaceful years, but all hope ended when the state of Virginia seceded from the Union on April 17, 1861.<sup>60</sup>

The peaceful lives of the neighborhood were disrupted when war came to Vienna and the surrounding countryside. Federal troops crossed the Potomac on May 24, 1861, and seized the Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire at the Alexandria station. Shortly after the capture of the

railroad, the Confederates burned wooden trestles and tore up tracks beyond Vienna, making that end of the railroad useless for the remainder of the war. And by 1862, the entire fifteen mile track between Alexandria and Vienna was placed under complete Federal operation, becoming an important supply line to the Army of the Potomac.<sup>61</sup> Contemporary witnesses told of the troops doing their laundry and bathing in the water supply meant for the engines. It seems that they clogged up the boilers with foam so badly that trains had to be stopped until the foam could be blown off.<sup>62</sup>

During the war, Federal troops occupying Fairfax County took what they needed from the inhabitants. They leveled barns and houses, tore down fences, and took produce from the orchards and gardens. But what seemed to disturb landowners more than any other destruction was the cutting of valuable timber from their land. The residents of Fairfax County were promised compensation after the war, if they were found to be loyal.<sup>63</sup> There were hundreds of claims from those who said they had been loyal, and many were paid. Many were disallowed, however. In 1884, Congress disallowed the Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire Railroad a claim of \$5,743.79 from war damages, concluding that while the former president of the railroad, Lewis McKenzie had been loyal in 1861, there was no evidence that the stockholders were.<sup>64</sup> Another claim was filed by Elizabeth Gunnell, widow of Hugh Gunnell, for six thousand cords of wood. Hugh Gunnell, brother of Joshua, died in 1857, leaving his wife to survive the war years alone. Her testimony was typical of those who attempted to receive money from the government by telling of their good deeds and helping the Union cause.<sup>65</sup>

I was a widow during the war, and had four children. One of my sons ran away from me, he was sixteen years old, and joined the Confederate Army. His name was George, and he ran away. He went off with the army, and by and by I got hold of him and took him to Major Doubleday at Fort Allen, and delivered him up.

Mrs. Gunnell told of her sympathies, of how sorry she was to hear of the defeat of the Union army at Manassas, and of how she had sewn the clothes of soldiers who had passed by her house. Whether Elizabeth Gunnell was loyal to the Union or to the Confederacy, her testimony spoke for all of the citizens of Fairfax in their dilemma throughout the war years. The tension of war set neighbor against neighbor, bringing forth old grievances, and even family members against each other. Elizabeth Gunnell told the Commissioner that her husband's nephews were Rebels upon learning that Albert Gunnell, a son of William Henry Gunnell, had accused her of being disloyal. She lived on land just below the Gunnell tract, between the Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire Railroad and Lawyers Road, very near the town of Vienna. When a Union soldier was shot in the skirmish

about a quarter of a mile from her house, she took him in and, according to her testimony, saved his life.

They left him to lay there on the snow. I took him home, and put a soft bed for him down on the floor and had a good fire made, and set up with him that night, and sent for Mr. and Mrs. Clark, and Mr. and Mrs. Daly, and some others, and they said they could not come without being under compulsion of knocking the poor man in the head, so I attended to him and washed his wound, and put bandages on it, and sent word to General Porter where to come and get him.

People were suspicious of each other; they accused each other of being Janus-faced. Mrs. Gunnell's neighbor, William Clark, who would have knocked the Union soldier in the head, testified that some people around there said "she was all right with the South," and when questioned further, he said, "well she is when she is here." In an apparent attempt to understand whether Clark was telling the truth, or simply using the opportunity to retaliate for some former grievance, the Commissioner asked him if he was on friendly terms with the Gunnells: "I am not exactly on friendly terms with them. Do you want to know the reason why?" Clark answered. "No. I do not," came the reply. They all had their day in court, but the most damaging witness was an officer of the First Vermont Cavalry who said he told General Doubleday that Elizabeth Gunnell was one of the biggest Rebels in the country. Elizabeth Gunnell's claim for \$19,038.33 was disallowed for lack of evidence that she was loyal to the Union. She died in 1884, leaving her Vienna property to her sons, Hugh and George.<sup>66</sup>

Elizabeth Gunnell was undoubtedly correct when she said that her husband's newphews were Rebels; they were southern in every respect, great landowners and slave holders. They were among those who left their church over the slavery issue. As early as 1844, there was tension over slavery in the Methodist Episcopal Church when those opposed to slavery began to sit on one side of the church, and those owning slaves sat on the other side. In 1846 the M.E. Church, South was organized in Petersburg, Virginia, thus formalizing the schism. Martha Warfield, Arthur Gunnell, Mary Gunnell Smith and her husband, Wethers, all children and heirs of William Henry, left Old Union Methodist Episcopal Church and became founding members of Andrew Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1855.<sup>67</sup>

Whether the New Yorkers did indeed upgrade Fairfax County soil and make it once again productive, or whether they merely lifted the spirits of the citizens of Fairfax, optimism prevailed, and the value of the land on the old Gunnell tract rose dramatically after 1850. New Yorker John Turner had paid six hundred dollars for one hundred and four acres in the

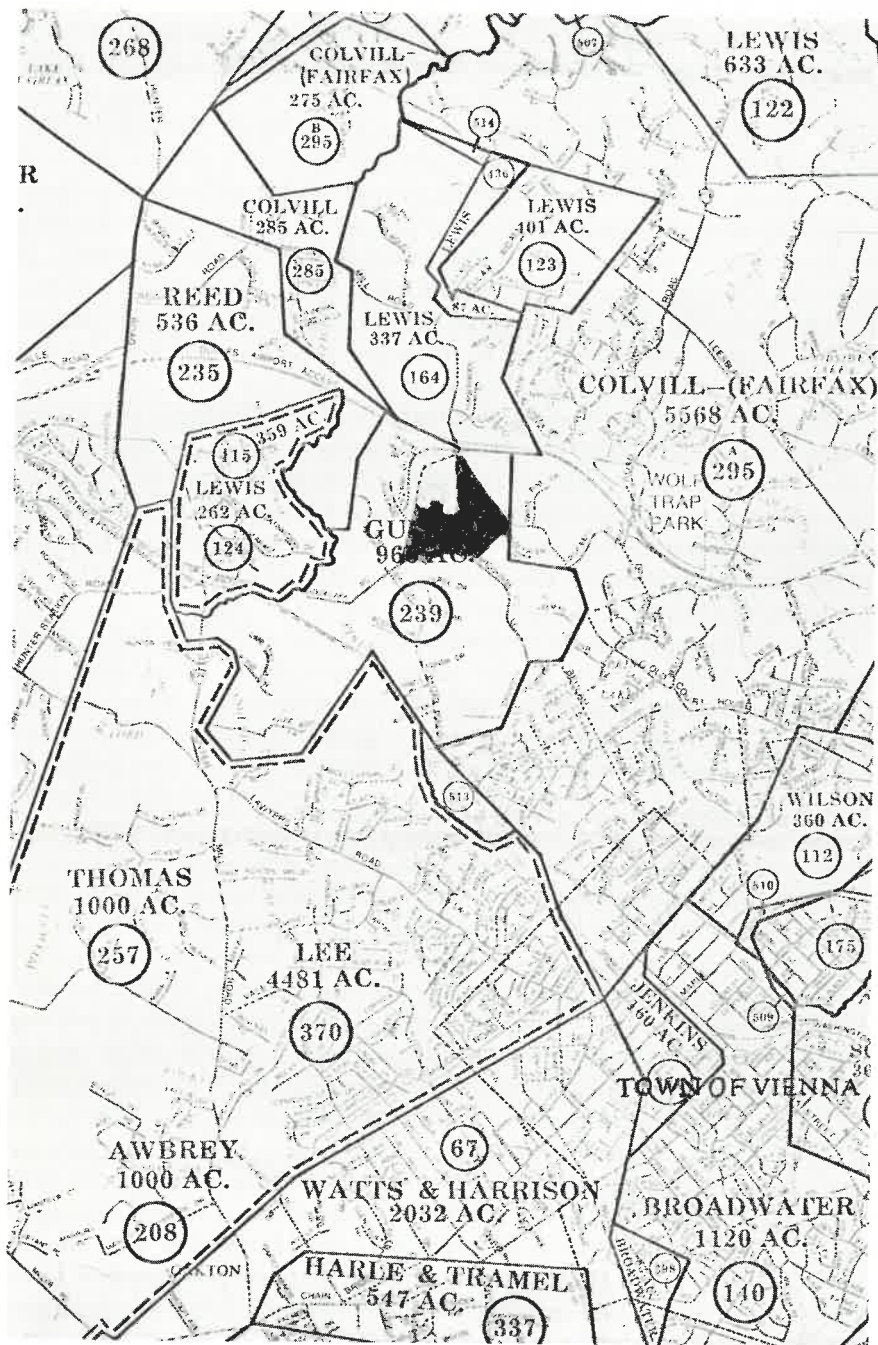
Stanhope division, and he sold it to Lewis Johnson in 1851 for twelve hundred dollars. Gilbert Purdy sold his ninety-nine acres to his neighbors, John Money and Lewis Johnson, in 1855, for eleven dollars an acre, making a one hundred and twenty-five percent profit. Johnson and Money divided the land in 1856.<sup>68</sup> That same year, the court divided the five hundred and forty-seven acres of land on the lower half of the tract, land belonging to William Henry Gunnell, among his six children. When three of the children sold small parcels of their land to Lewis Johnson, the lines separating the upper and lower halves of the old Gunnell nine hundred and sixty-six acre tract became blurred. Already Lewis Johnson was the owner of nearly all of the Stanhope division, and it was he who combined portions of the upper and lower tracts to shape what would become the Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park.

Fairfax County had benefited greatly from the Yankees, and Lewis Johnson was in accord with their views on purchasing small tracts of land, never more than they could use for "labor rendered respectable." Johnson never owned more than five hundred acres of land. He appreciated the northern views on slavery, even though he did own two slaves in 1856; yet, unlike his neighbors to the south of him, the Gunnells, he did not take full advantage of the slave economy.<sup>69</sup>

Lewis Johnson was born in Fairfax County in 1811. By 1836, he had married Amelia McDaniel, the daughter of Robert McDaniel and Cassandra Barnes. McDaniel and Barnes were never married, but McDaniel nevertheless gave his three children his name, and he also recognized them in his will.<sup>70</sup> The Johnsons seem to have been a typical farming family in the 1850s, a vital part of the social and religious community. With their three daughters Frances, Mary, and Sarah, ages fourteen, thirteen, and nine, respectively, they attended the Old Union Methodist Episcopal Church, where Lewis Johnson was a trustee in 1852. During inclement weather, the family may have attended Sunday School at Johnson's Schoolhouse, on the upper corner of Johnson's property.<sup>71</sup>

There was an interest in better roads in Fairfax County during the mid-1850s. Turnpikes were already in existence and in fairly good condition, but the secondary roads for local residents, the farmers in Fairfax County, were often unsatisfactory and much discussed in court. "To view a way for a road" was the preliminary step, and often the road was not constructed for years. Lewis Johnson, a landowner and a farmer, had a vested interest in the roads.<sup>72</sup> There are references to his being paid for work on a county road and selling his land to the county for roads. Johnson was appointed to view a way for a road from Hunter's Mill Road to Middle Turnpike in 1852.<sup>73</sup> Middle Turnpike, the present-day Leesburg Pike, was built in 1828, and this important road leading to it would have provided a direct route from Johnson's property to the turnpike and the mills. The road was not constructed, however, until 1859 when the viewers had apparently found a





Portion of Fairfax County 1986 Real Estate Tax Map Sheet #28-1 showing Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park (shaded area).

better route; they presented to the court a strong case for the present-day Trap Road, arguing that it would "furnish a direct route to a large population north of the Village of Vienna, as well as to two churches and four mills. . . ."74

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, streams and trees were important identifying markers for surveys. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, roads which led to mills were often used. Two important mills were Hunter's Mill and Walter's Mill, and all roads leading to these mills were so named. The curves of these roads can be seen on present-day maps notwithstanding their name changes. The old curves of present-day Meadowlark Road, so named by Hugh McDiarmid in 1952, are shown on G. M. Hopkins's map of 1878. Miss Elizabeth Brown, a life-long resident of Beulah Road, has seen the evolution in the names of that road. Her great-grandfather was William Walters of the Walter's Mill shown on G.M. Hopkins's map, and when her father, William Everett Brown bought the old Wolf Trap Mill, probably Walter's Mill, he renamed it Brown's Mill. Miss Brown does not remember who started calling the road Brown's Mill Road, but it is now Beulah Road.<sup>75</sup>

On Court days in the 1840s and early 1850s, Lewis Johnson was appointed to appraise and settle estate matters, and he was a juror on numerous occasions. Court days at Providence were very much looked forward to because the women and children visited and bought dry-goods, and the men attended to court business, traded land, and bought slaves.<sup>76</sup> Although the weather was bad on Monday, October 17, 1859, Johnson had business in court. He was appointed as a Commissioner by the presiding Justice, Joshua Gunnell, to divide land in a suit. By the late afternoon, word had reached Providence that an insurrection had taken place at Harper's Ferry.

Farmers along the railroad lines felt the effects of the war more keenly and immediately than did others in the towns, particularly after Federal troops seized the line. The Alexandria, Loudoun, and Hampshire Railroad, part of which ran through Johnson's twenty-acre field just below what is now Meadowlark Road, had just opened in the summer of 1859, and probably had been carrying his farm produce to Alexandria.<sup>77</sup> But by 1861, all peaceful use of that railroad came to an abrupt end, and if the slavery issue had divided the churches, the ravages of war divided neighborhood friendships. If Lewis Johnson's story were more fully known, one could say with certainty that he was in an intolerable position with the coming of the war to Fairfax County. Together, friends and neighbors attended to county business, in building the roads, and in land transactions. Lewis Johnson was by all accounts a northern sympathizer, surrounded by people with opposite views. The Gunnells to the south of Johnson were owners of large land tracts and a number of slaves; they were southern and Confederate sympathizers. George W. Hunter, Jr., the chastising attorney



in the Sarah Ambrose case four years earlier, owned property to the northwest, and he was most definitely a Confederate sympathizer. In 1856, Hunter was second only to John A. Washington, a collateral descendant of George Washington, and George West Gunnell in holding slaves in Fairfax County; Washington had twenty-nine, and both Gunnell and Hunter had eighteen.<sup>78</sup> Colonel Maxcy Gregg of the First South Carolina Infantry described Hunter as "a zealous friend of the cause" when Hunter guided the troops in pursuit of the Ohio Volunteers in the Vienna skirmish on June 17, 1861. When Lewis Johnson's pro-slavery neighbors left Old Union Church in 1855, he stayed with the church. This is an indication of his views on slavery.<sup>79</sup> Old Union Church was used by Federal troops during the war, and it was in such disrepair afterward that all of the members went to Andrew Chapel, returning once again to a united neighborhood and healing old wounds. In 1869, Lewis and Amelia Johnson's names appear on the Andrew Chapel list of members along with their friends and neighbors; Wethers Smith, Martha Warfield, and Arthur Gunnell.<sup>80</sup> That same year, Johnson bought another twenty acres of land on the Gunnell tract, the first since 1860.

Between 1849 and 1877, Johnson had acquired about four hundred acres of land in Fairfax County; the greater part being the Difficult Run farm of two hundred and forty acres. He had about one hundred acres on Wolf Trap Run, about sixty acres in Vienna, and twenty-five acres in Great Falls. His personal property reflected his simple farming life: two horses, seven sheep, nine cows, two hogs, and two wagons, and by the standards of the community, the Johnsons had good furniture. They were taxed on one hundred and twenty-five dollars worth of household furniture in 1878 when the average value in the neighborhood was about sixty dollars.

Lewis Johnson died on August 13, 1879, at the age of sixty-four. His wife, Amelia, survived him by nine years, but she apparently was not able to farm the land. In 1887 Amelia had only three cows and the wagons.<sup>81</sup> Lewis Johnson left the land in Great Falls and the farm on Difficult Run to their only surviving daughter, Mary, who had married John E. Rouzee in 1870. Johnson's will stipulated that the farm was to be divided between Rouzee and his grandson, Lewis Joshua Gibson, after the death of Amelia, and after Gibson reached the age of twenty-one. A further condition was that if Gibson had no children, the entire farm would return to Mary Rouzee.<sup>82</sup>

In 1890, Gibson and Mary Rouzee divided the two hundred and forty acre farm, after selling a few surrounding tracts of land. One hundred and thirty-two acres went to Rouzee, the tract where the house and other farm buildings stood, and Gibson received one hundred and eighteen acres of land where the tenant house was located.<sup>83</sup> Neither of Lewis Johnson's heirs lived in the main farm house. Joshua Gibson lived in the tenant house across Brown's Mill Road, the present-day Beulah Road, and Mary Rouzee

lived in Great Falls, renting out the house, "The Home Place," as she called it, and her one hundred and thirty-two acres to a tenant.

Mary Johnson married late in life; she was thirty years old in 1870 when she married John Rouzee. He was thirty-two.<sup>84</sup> Mary was most certainly taken to church during her youth, but she did not become a member of the church until 1890 when she joined Andrew Chapel "on profession of faith."<sup>85</sup> Her formal entrance into the church so late in life, at the age of fifty-one, is interesting and deserves exploring. After the Civil War, with so many women left widows, church work was an outlet for their leisure time, particularly for the well-off. In 1886, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South established a Woman's Department in their growing concern over inadequate housing for pastors. The driving force behind this innovative effort was a wealthy Kentuckian, Lucinda Helm. By 1890, Helm had not only expanded the membership, but she had also set more aggressive goals for the Department, giving it the title Woman's Parsonage and Home Mission Society, and subsequently the Woman's Home Mission Society of the M.E. Church, South, Incorporated.<sup>86</sup> Gradually, the upkeep of parsonages gave way to more social concerns after Belle Bennett, another Kentuckian from a prosperous family, became president in 1896.

The Woman's Home Mission Society was concerned with children, education, and women's rights, as well as with the Christian home. They advocated a separate Department of Education within the federal government, and the restriction of child labor saying, "the God-ordained function of the child is not to produce, but to receive." These socially concerned southern Methodist women were far ahead of their time. One of them wrote in the *Missionary Voice* in 1913, that "in every line of industry and also in professional life men receive much larger wages or salary than women doing the same work." Using such modern-day phrases as "a double standard," the writer argued that low wages contributed to a low moral life for the single woman living on nine dollars a week. While encouraging women to seek a change in the laws effecting their causes, they remained silent on the Nineteenth Amendment. They did not want to be associated with the suffragists and alienate those who opposed the amendment. They appealed largely to rural women and to the well-off who had the means to support them.<sup>87</sup> Mary Rouzee was a woman of property, childless, and her only heir was her nephew, Joshua Gibson, who was not yet married. It was natural that she should come under the influence of the Woman's Home Mission Society. Mary died in February 1901, at the age of sixty-two, and in her will, she bequeathed thirteen hundred dollars to the Board of Missions of the M.E. Church, South, and two tracts of land in Great Falls where she lived, containing one hundred and thirty-five acres. She gave "The Home Place" to Joshua Gibson only for his natural life time, and at his death to go to the Woman's Home Mission Society. Moreover, if Gibson did not keep the place up, her

executor was to take possession, rent it out and place the money in an annuity loan fund in the hands of the Society. Gibson would receive only five percent annually from the rent.<sup>88</sup>

Nine months after Mary Rouzee died, Joshua Gibson secured a quit claim from the Society for one hundred and thirty-two acres. He reasoned that they had other land bequeathed by Rouzee, and the Society agreed, but he nevertheless paid them five hundred dollars. By 1908, when Joshua Gibson wanted to sell some of the land left him by Lewis Johnson, land Gibson thought was his, he learned that the Woman's Home Mission Society had a contingent interest in that land. In April and May Gibson paid the Society another five hundred and thirty-seven dollars for their interest in his one hundred and eighteen acre lot. The three deeds of 1901 and 1908, signed by Belle Bennett, president of the Woman's Home Mission Society, secured for Gibson his land and gave the Society over one thousand dollars.<sup>89</sup>

Joshua Gibson was never financially successful and had to place several trusts on his land. He sold thirty five acres in 1908, and an additional thirty-nine acres in 1911, to C.M. Money. Twenty-one acres from these two combined parcels were later condemned by the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority. By 1930, Gibson had only thirty acres remaining. Of all the land he inherited under the will of Lewis Johnson, seventy-five acres now comprise Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park.<sup>90</sup> There is speculation that Joshua Gibson was quite ill for most of his life. He was not married until after 1918, and died childless in 1938. But Elizabeth Brown remembers the elderly couple, Joshua and Lula, living in the small tenant house down Beulah Road; they would invite the Brown children into their house whenever the children went there.<sup>91</sup>

Among the people to whom Joshua Gibson sold his land were two unmarried sisters, Alice and Annie Kilgour. The Kilgour sisters bought one hundred and twenty-three acres, the farm house tract, in April 1910.<sup>92</sup> They never lived on the property; being city women, they lived in Washington, D.C. from 1909 until the beginning of World War II. Annie Kilgour was a registered nurse and Alice was a housekeeper, both of them boarding in various residences for women.<sup>93</sup> The purchase of the farm was apparently a family venture; one Frank Kilgour lived there and was farming the land in 1915. Elizabeth Brown remembers only that there were Kilgours on the farm, and that her father bought a hand-painted picture of some daisies for ten cents, and a rug for twenty-five cents at the Kilgour's moving sale.<sup>94</sup> The Kilgours sold two tracts of the land to a neighbor, Faust Day, while they owned the farm, and in January, 1921, they sold the residue, containing sixty-seven acres, to Thomas Jefferson Carr.<sup>95</sup>

The Carrs owned the property for fourteen years, and during that time, the foreclosures and bankruptcies that pursued farmers nationwide, also stalked Fairfax County. Despite a loan under Roosevelt's Emergency

Farm Mortgage Act in August 1933, the Carrs could not remain farmers, and were forced to sell out. They moved to a smaller place purchased from the trustees of the Oakton Church of the Brethren in 1935.<sup>96</sup> Before the Carrs moved, they planted wheat, corn and other crops in the fields to be ready for harvesting by a couple new to the area. Gardiner Means and his wife, Caroline Ware Means, had just moved from New York, and reminiscent of a hundred years earlier, the Yankees would return to Fairfax County and take over a farm in need of care.

Gardiner Means and Caroline Ware, both born in New England, sat in the living room of their log-walled house on a snowy February afternoon in 1985 reminiscing about how Caroline came to buy the farm. They wanted a small place away from Washington where they could pitch a tent to escape the summer heat. But when Caroline went out into the Vienna countryside with a real estate agent in the spring of 1935, the apple trees were in full bloom, and spring wheat was growing in the fields on Beulah Road. She fell in love with the farm. Even though electricity came only as far as the next farm, and water had to be carried from the spring house, she could not resist the beauty of the rolling green meadows. Gardiner was out of town, and Caroline called him long distance; they decided on the telephone that she should buy it that night.<sup>97</sup> When a rival bidder who had been trying to bargain the price down by five hundred dollars appeared the following day, the property had already acquired new owners. The Meanses never had reason to regret their move to the country. The only doubt about the distance from Washington in relation to their busy government and academic lives was when the war came and brought with it the menace of gas shortage.

As they quietly talked in front of the fire, their warm and gentle hospitality, which has been displayed throughout the years, was evident. For Gardiner Means and Caroline Ware, "The Farm" has been a haven to be shared with New Dealers, intellectuals, and just plain folk for the fifty years during the Means-Ware "tenancy," as they like to call it. The calm and quiet of this February day, however, contradicted the sprightliness of these two keen minds. Surrounded by stacks of books and papers, Gardiner, at the age of eighty-nine, was writing another book on economics. For the first time in history, he says, there are new trends in the economy: simultaneous inflation and deflation. Who can better describe it than this economist who, against generally held opinion, had predicted inflation at the end of World War II rather than depression. Events in the early 1950s proved Gardiner Means right. Caroline, eighty-six, had a typewriter nearby, ready for a letter or a report on yet another one of her many interests in the consumer field, women's rights, or the academic world. When the telephone rang, Caroline spoke in Spanish to the caller, a friend and colleague she had known from her years as visiting professor

and consultant in Latin America for the Organization of American States. "La Doctora," as she was called, once again had occasion to share her knowledge and experience. She was adviser to the Latin American Association Schools of Social Work in the late 1960s, and her manual in Spanish on *How to Study a Community* has been distributed throughout Latin America.<sup>98</sup>

Although the Meanses were not part of the innermost Roosevelt circle, they were among those who helped shape the New Deal. Caroline Ware fondly remembers how she was introduced to Eleanor Roosevelt. In 1928, then a member of the faculty at Vassar College, she had been married to Gardiner Means for one year. On the way to a vacation in Mexico, and armed with a press card from the Poughkeepsie *Eagle News*, she attended the Democratic Convention where Roosevelt made the nominating speech for Al Smith. The spirited and youthful-looking history professor stepped onto the stage and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, do you have any special message to send home to Poughkeepsie?" Grinning down at her, he exclaimed, "Child, how did you get here?" During the campaign, at a political reception, Caroline was standing in the receiving line when FDR spotted her. He drew her aside and said to Eleanor, "Here is that child I was telling you about." From that day forward, Eleanor Roosevelt remembered Caroline Ware.<sup>99</sup>

Franklin Roosevelt's appreciation of keen minds was evident in his canvassing ideas from college professors for his 1932 campaign. He chose for his "privy council," later called the "brain trusts," an elite cadre of intellectuals who in turn recruited expert advisers to come to Washington. Gardiner Means was one of those advisers. Means, whose father was a New England Congregational Minister, received his PhD from Harvard and was associated with Columbia Law School in economic research when he wrote *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* with a member of the "brain trusts," Adolph A. Berle, Jr., in 1932. The brilliant study so influenced the New Deal that it has often been referred to as "The Bible of the New Deal." New Dealers concluded that the old order of supply and demand had vanished and that the new administration had to look for new ways to restructure an economy dominated by the modern corporation.

Roosevelt's advisers, especially Rexford Tugwell, placed a high priority on restoring a balance between industry and agriculture, and the studies of Berle and Means reinforced these views. Thus, Tugwell brought Gardiner Means to Washington in 1933 as an economic adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, whose sister was Caroline Ware's college friend. Means recalled that the President once asked him to come to the White House to describe his ideas on the relationship between agriculture and the rest of the economy.<sup>100</sup>

After Gardiner Means came to Washington in 1933, Caroline Ware remained at Vassar, teaching and working on a project sponsored by the

Social Science Research Council at Columbia University to investigate changing economic and social conditions. The product of that study was her book, *Greenwich Village 1920-1930*, published in 1935. She commuted on weekends, but moved to Washington in 1934 and became a part of the New Deal recovery effort. With a background of social and economic history, it was natural that she would fit into the Washington atmosphere, working for the Consumer Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration (NRA).<sup>101</sup>

Gardiner Means was a member of the Consumer Advisory Board of the NRA from 1933-1935, and when the NRA was declared unconstitutional in 1935, he became Director of the Industrial Section of the National Resources Committee. Toward the close of the war, he left the government to join the research staff of the Committee for Economic Development, a private business group concerned with basic economic policy. Caroline Ware went back to work in academics. For the next twenty years, she was affiliated with graduate school faculties at American and Howard Universities while spending summers at the University of Puerto Rico; and as a visiting professor for the Organization of American States in South America. In 1939, she edited and wrote the introduction to *The Cultural Approach to History* for the American Historical Association. The book is still discussed and widely used by students as a research tool. Caroline Ware's energy kept her involved in consumer affairs. She was executive committee chairman of the Consumer Advisory Committee to the wartime Office of Price Administration, and during the Truman administration, she was chairman of the Consumer Advisory Committee to the Council of Economic Advisers.<sup>102</sup>

The Kennedy administration moved on two fronts that were of interest to Caroline and in which she took part: the President's Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt with Esther Peterson as Executive vice-chairman, and the President's Consumer Advisory Council. Caroline was asked to serve on both presidential bodies. She served on the President's Commission on the Status of Women from 1961 through 1963 and wrote the general background memorandum, *Women Today: Trends and Issues*, for the Commission, subsequently published by the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association. When the Women's Commission completed its two year term of office, she served as a member of the Consumer Advisory Council, which recommended that a Consumer Adviser be in the White House, and they secured the name of Esther Peterson to that post.<sup>103</sup>

When the Meanses came to live on the farm, they found a few traces of earlier times. To attend school at Herndon, children still rode the Washington and Old Dominion train, which they boarded at Lowlands Station, a half mile from the corner of the Meanses's property. There was the old barn down in the meadow, leaning to one side, but still standing,



and a corn crib remained near the house. They found the chicken house at the edge of the lawn constructed with a loft, which was reported to have once been an outdoor kitchen and then a slave cabin. Old Mr. Lum Honesty was still living in his house, just a half mile down Beulah Road. Mr. Honesty told the Meanses that he had been a slave on the property in his youth, a fact which he and his siblings very much resented when they observed that their Pennsylvania cousins were free. His father was born free but married a slave woman, and "it tied us children up," he told them. Lum remembered the weekend of Emancipation when he and his friends went to Forrestville to celebrate, but came back to their respective farms and signed on as hired laborers when the celebration was over. Elizabeth Brown remembers "Uncle Lum" as the Brown children called him. "Lum was truthful and honest," she emphasized, and he told her that he was indeed once a slave. Miss Brown's father, William Everett Brown, sold Honesty his one and a quarter acre lot in 1899.<sup>104</sup>

The day Gardiner Means and Caroline Ware moved in, they found much work to be done. The chimney was blocked and the log walls were plastered over; in truth, they were not sure how many of the walls were of logs. Using crowbars, they found the logs. They discovered that the corn crib was rat-infested; moreover, the previous owners had stored some grain on the second floor of the house into which a colony of rats had tunneled their way. Next they installed electricity, a heating system, indoor plumbing, and modified the kitchen. The installation of the flagstone porch was the prelude to the many activities and gatherings which the farm would see over the next fifty years. The porch served as a cooking site for the threshing crews when the Meanses harvested the five-acre wheat field planted by the Carrs. The cooking was done on a camp stove.

Since farming was new to the economist and the history professor, the Means-Ware efforts were always done adventurously and with a sense of fun. Endless lists of farm chores were posted on the porch, and everyone knew that the Means-Ware open house on Sundays meant plenty of food, but it also meant work. The Meanses called these weekend volunteers "Fubils," because they provided Free Unskilled But Intelligent Labor. They included young State Department employees, economists, and a general gathering of intellectuals who came prepared to paint the barn, pick apples, prune trees, and chop wood. One of the early projects was constructing the swimming pool. Named "Dam Difficult," the swimming pool was created by damming a tributary of Difficult Run, and the undertaking gained worldwide fame. The Meanses recall that the most enthusiastic hole-diggers were the young State Department employees who, twenty years later, had become officials in embassies around the world. In the 1950s, when the Meanses took a round-the-world trip, a political officer, a cultural attache, or a charge d'affairs would greet them

at one American embassy after another with “You don’t remember me, but I helped dig your swimming pool.”

Friends also remember the old barn which once saw a touch of romance. A reconstructed and half-painted barn awaited the work of Fubils, and the painters were a young couple who had broken their engagement because of parental disapproval. While they were painting, they decided to be married despite the objections. Five years later, the couple returned to view their efforts, and found the barn as they had left it. The barn remained through the years as the couple had painted it, with her neatly brushed five feet high strokes, and his longer strokes up to eight feet. Those finding farm chores recreational were usually city folk, but others who had grown up on real wheat farms attempted to subvert the Fubil operations with horse-shoe pitching.<sup>105</sup>

Weekends at the farm during the war years found an entourage of people such as idealistic young conscientious objectors, labor movement advisers, as well as intellectuals who “would have done any top grade university proud,” long-time friend Maida Springer-Kemp said of the Means-Ware farm. In 1945, Mrs. Springer-Kemp visited the farm with Esther Peterson when both were affiliated with labor groups. Mrs. Springer-Kemp and Mrs. Peterson had cherished their friendship with the Meanses for forty years. They have fond memories of the gatherings on the farm. The “Skipper,” and “The Honorable Economic Person,” as they called Caroline Ware and Gardiner Means, would invite a group of African students for a picnic, African Trade Unionists would be there, and often women from Latin America. There was always an occasion on the farm for a celebration such as the sharing of an academic achievement, or the special excitement of a dialogue with students of economics.<sup>106</sup>

The Meanses were eager to try their hands at new and varying methods of farming. They attempted to raise livestock, first installing sheep. After a year of wrestling with sheep, tying their legs and putting them on a table to be sheared, they enjoyed watching a professional sheep-shearer who usually came through the neighborhood in the spring. He used the Australian method of grabbing the animal around the neck, standing it on its tail, and shearing it in short order. The sheep-shearer also enjoyed the Meanses’ hospitality; having only a couple dozen sheep to shear, he would nevertheless arrange to spend at least two nights on the farm. The attempt to raise sheep, however, was abandoned when Caroline went out to the sheep-fold one morning and found the sheep’s throats brutally torn. Indicative of a common problem plaguing farmers in the county, their sheep could not escape marauding dogs despite the electric fencing and goats to guard them. The playful goats were more interested in jumping upon cars and ringing the porch camel bell than in performing the job for which they were purchased. (Citizens of Fairfax County had long been aware of the stray dog problem. As early as 1872 the Fairfax County Board

of Supervisors enacted a county law requiring that the sum of one dollar be levied on each dog in the county. Under the Sheep and Fox Act, owners of sheep could claim up to six dollars per sheep killed by dogs. In 1885, the county paid a total of \$223.50 to owners for losses.)<sup>107</sup>

In 1948, Gardiner Means and Caroline Ware acquired a three hundred-acre farm at Bull Run and raised white-faced Hereford cattle there for a number of years. They brought the cattle to Vienna in the spring to graze on the Beulah Road meadows. Cattle raising was abandoned, however, when Interstate 66 came through the property and cut the farm buildings off from the main pastures. The purchase of the farm at Bull Run was accidental, the Meanses recalled. To prove his point that there would not be a recession at the close of the war, Gardiner invested in one hundred and twenty-five acres in Vienna, called Moidone Acres, and developed all but forty acres into lots. This land is part of the Charles Broadwater eleven-hundred-and twenty acre tract, granted in 1726.<sup>108</sup> Broadwater's grave is preserved there, near the intersection of Tapawingo and Frederick Streets in the town of Vienna. The Meanses were not eager to continue in the land development business, and traded the Broadwater site for Bull Run farm. They sold one hundred acres of bottom land, along Bull Run, to the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority in 1960. This land forms the nucleus of Bull Run Park.<sup>109</sup>

Next they tried an experimental grass which they heard about through the Commission for Economic Development, where Gardiner was Associate Director for Research. Zoysia grass was about to be released to the public and since somebody would surely exploit it commercially, Means and an associate organized the Lawn Grass Development Company. They began with seven plugs in the front yard of the farm house. Gardiner attended to the growing of it, designing and building a machine for cutting plugs from the sod, while his associate marketed it and developed a mail order business. As the grass grew, so did the business, but as nurserymen replaced unsatisfactory nurserymen, they decided to terminate the business. Some of the zoysia grass remained by the barn, but for the most part, the fields were allowed to grow naturally. Farming was not the principal vocation of the economist and the history professor; it was their avocation. Notwithstanding a small vineyard giving way to the birds, the asparagus bed taken over by morning glories, squirrels in the corn, and blackbirds in the peas, the Meanses have become famous for their fine iris beds which bloom tall and proud in the spring for their annual garden parties.<sup>110</sup>

As the Means-Ware Bulletin goes out worldwide each Christmas, their friends learn of their activities and their continuing generosity. Caroline was not able to attend the 1985 United Nations Conference on the International Women's Decade in Nairobi, but through her generosity a collection of photographs of Black American women, *Women of Courage*,



*Gardiner C. Means and Caroline F. Ware Means receive certificate of appreciation from the Northern Virginia Regional park Authority, July, 1980.*

was made available to women of all countries, free of charge, if they wished to order it. The collection, part of the Black Women's Oral History Project and sponsored by the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College, where Caroline Ware received her PhD, was given as her gift to fifteen hundred women from some sixty countries. As one more example of their generosity, the Meanses have given the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority fifty-three acres of their farm.<sup>111</sup> It is fitting that this farm has become a park. The land will remain a quiet haven where trees, shrubs, and flowers envelop the centuries-old stream, and border the old roads. Yet social changes have taken place there. The land has seen women repressed, and it has seen a champion of women's rights. When the country began and when the country divided, the land was there to continue with new hope. Future generations can look back to the men and women who lived on this land and who forged its destiny.

## Notes

<sup>111</sup>T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 41; Fairfax Harrison, "A Group of Northern Neck Families: Moxley, Gunnell, Bowling, Hurst," *Tylers Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1920; Beth Mitchell, *Beginning at a White Oak* (Fairfax; Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1977), P. 185.

<sup>112</sup>John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), vol. 37, p. 424.

- <sup>3</sup>Breen, op. cit., p. 43; Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Berryville: Chesapeake Book Co., 1964), p. 287.
- <sup>4</sup>Fairfax Deed Book (hereafter cited as FDB) A1 pt. 1, p. 26; Fairfax Will Book (hereafter cited as FWB) B1, p. 218.
- <sup>5</sup>Fairfax Court Order Book (hereafter cited as FCOB) 1756, p. 48; 1768, p. 137.
- <sup>6</sup>Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed. *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773-1774* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1943), p. 38.
- <sup>7</sup>FCOB 1756, p. 163; 1772, p. 196.
- <sup>8</sup>Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution, 1933; reprint ed., Clifton, N.J.: Augustus Kelley, publ., 1973), vol. 1, p. 228.
- <sup>9</sup>FCOB 1756, p. 305; 1768, p. 53; 1772, p. 263; William J. Van Schreeven, et al., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), vol. 1, p. 133.
- <sup>10</sup>FWB F1 p. 339, p. 58; Fairfax Chancery suit final file (hereinafter cited as CFF) # 28n *Emigh vs. Hunter* (1860).
- <sup>11</sup>FCOB 1788, pp. 84-85.
- <sup>12</sup>Nan Netherton et al., *Fairfax County, Virginia, A History* (Fairfax: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1975) pp. 42-45 and 219-220; FCOB 1799, p. 488.
- <sup>13</sup>James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965) vol. 1, pp. 26-33.
- <sup>14</sup>Fitzpatrick, op. cit. vol. 37, pp. 423-425 and 431-433. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979) vol. 6, pp. 374 and 379.
- <sup>15</sup>FDB J2, p. 130; *Emigh vs. Hunter*, op. cit.
- <sup>16</sup>Reverend Charles Green's List of Tithables for 1748.
- <sup>17</sup>E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 37-48; Fairfax Methodist Church History Committee, "A Summary History of Fairfax Methodist Church," 1960 (paper presented to the Northern Virginia Methodist Historical Society, September 1960), Virginia Room, Fairfax City Regional Library, Fairfax, Virginia.
- <sup>18</sup>Gray, op. cit., p. 525; Donald Sweig, ed., *Registration of Free Negroes Commencing September Court 1822, Book 2* (Fairfax: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1977), p. 1.
- <sup>19</sup>FWB P1, p. 173.
- <sup>20</sup>Sweig, op. cit., pp. 3 and 41-48; FWB H1, p. 133.
- <sup>21</sup>Reverend William Bennett, *Memorials of Methodism in Virginia* (Richmond: published by the author, 1871), p. 641.
- <sup>22</sup>Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1984), pp. 35-48.
- <sup>23</sup>Fairfax County Seventh Census Slave Population. Microfilm. Virginia Room, Fairfax City Regional Library; Berlin, op. cit., pp. 211-213 and 345; Netherton, et al., op. cit., p. 273; Lebsock, op. cit., p. 105.
- <sup>24</sup>CFF #1m *Ambrose vs. Hunter* (1856); FWB M1, p. 423; CFF #36h Gunnell vs. Stanhope's administrator (1835).
- <sup>25</sup>Lebsock, op. cit., pp. 102-104; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), pp. 244-246.
- <sup>26</sup>FDB U3, p. 304.



- <sup>27</sup>FDB N3, p. 255; *Ambrose vs. Hunter* op. cit.; Fairfax County Census for 1860, Virginia Room, Fairfax City Regional Library. Microfilm.
- <sup>28</sup>FDB J3, p. 227 and 346; M3, p. 23; P3, p. 227; N3, p. 107.
- <sup>29</sup>Netherton et al., op. cit., p. 165.
- <sup>30</sup>*Gunnell vs. Stanhope's admr.*, op. cit.
- <sup>31</sup>*Ibid.* Henry Gunnell's deposition, 1836.
- <sup>32</sup>FDB J2, p. 130.
- <sup>33</sup>*Gunnell vs. Stanhope's admr.*, op. cit.; Netherton et al., op. cit., p. 262.
- <sup>34</sup>*Gunnell vs. Stanhope's admr.*, op. cit., Letter from John A. Cooke to Ann Stanhope, 1832.
- <sup>35</sup>Gray, op. cit., p. 919; Netherton et al., op. cit., pp. 251-252.
- <sup>36</sup>*Alexandria Gazette*, September 12, 1845.
- <sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, September 25, 1845.
- <sup>38</sup>Gray, op. cit., p. 788.
- <sup>39</sup>FDB D3, p. 601.
- <sup>40</sup>FWB S1, p. 106; CFF #83s *Stanhope vs. Stanhope's administrators* (1852).
- <sup>41</sup>Gray, op. cit., pp. 908-918.
- <sup>42</sup>Richard H. Abbott, "Yankee Farmers in Northern Virginia 1840-1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, January 1968, pp. 56-63, *Alexandria Gazette*, August 29, 1846; Seventh Slave Population for 1856. Microfilm. Virginia Room, Fairfax City Regional Library.
- <sup>43</sup>FDB T3, p. 46; *Emigh vs. Hunter*, op. cit.
- <sup>44</sup>FDB G3, p. 205; P3, p. 129; Census for Fairfax County 1860. Microfilm. Virginia Room. Fairfax City Regional Library.
- <sup>45</sup>FDB W1, p. 219; X1, p. 401.
- <sup>46</sup>Elswyth Thane, *Potomac Squire* (Mount Vernon, Virginia: Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 1963), p. viii.
- <sup>47</sup>FWB P1, p. 173; M1, p. 301; FDB Q1, p. 464; X1, p. 325; Jefferson County (West Virginia) WB 8, p. 85 and 12, p. 434.
- <sup>48</sup>Harrison, *Landmarks . . .*, pp. 138-140.
- <sup>49</sup>Netherton et al., op. cit., pp. 220 and 724.
- <sup>50</sup>FDB W1, p. 216; X1, p. 325; FWB M1 p. 301.
- <sup>51</sup>FDB L2, p. 325.
- <sup>52</sup>Helen Maggs Fede, *Washington Furniture at Mount Vernon* (Mount Vernon, Virginia: Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 1966), p. 7.
- <sup>53</sup>Douglass Southall Freeman, *George Washington* (New York: Charles Scribners Son, 1948), vol. 1, p. 134; CFF #42m Hurst vs. Gunnell's executors (1828).
- <sup>54</sup>FCOB 1835, p. 102.
- <sup>55</sup>*Hurst vs. Gunnell's exrs.*, op. cit.
- <sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>57</sup>Fairfax County Census 1860, op. cit.
- <sup>58</sup>FCOB 1859, p. 234; *Alexandria Gazette*, March 10, 1863.
- <sup>59</sup>FDB V3, p. 398.
- <sup>60</sup>Ames W. Williams, *Washington and Old Dominion Railroad* (Alexandria, Virginia: Meridian Sun Press, 1970), pp. 3-8).
- <sup>61</sup>George B. Abdill, *Civil War Railroads* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 55 and 76.
- <sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*; *Official Records; War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: Government



Printing Office, 1880) 1st Series, vol. 2, pp. 124-131.

<sup>63</sup>John Hammond Moore, "The Fairfax County Claims; Civil War Losses and Peacetime Payments," *Northern Virginia Heritage*, October 1980, pp. 3-7.

<sup>64</sup>Williams, op. cit., p. 28. By 1884, the railroad was called the Washington, Ohio, and Western Railroad Company.

<sup>65</sup>Southern Claim for Elizabeth Gunnell #3577. Copy in Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.

<sup>66</sup>FWB E2, p. 98.

<sup>67</sup>Beryl Ramsay, *Through the Years With Andrew Chapel*, published by the trustees of Andrew Chapel, 1979. Fairfax City Regional Library.

<sup>68</sup>FDB Y3, p. 314; P3, p. 349; V3, p. 196; X3, p. 278.

<sup>69</sup>Seventh Census Slave Population, op. cit.

<sup>70</sup>FWB S1, p. 244.

<sup>71</sup>FCOB 1852, p. 12; FDB X3, p. 278; Ramsay, op. cit.

<sup>72</sup>FCOB 1846, p. 379; 1863, pp. 186, 207, and 383; 1852, pp. 7, 33, and 125; 1855, p. 269; 1858, pp. 52 and 188; 1860, p. 59, 1863, p. 537.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 1852, p. 33.

<sup>74</sup>*Record of Roads*, July 1868, p. 62, in Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.

<sup>75</sup>G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of Fifteen Miles Around Washington*, Providence District; Conversation with Hugh McDiarmid, January 9, 1986, and with Elizabeth Brown, June 27, 1986.

<sup>76</sup>FCOB 1858, p. 239; Netherton et al., op. cit., pp. 303-304.

<sup>77</sup>FDB V3, p. 399.

<sup>78</sup>Seventh Census Slave Population, op. cit.

<sup>79</sup>*Official Records*, op. cit., p. 129; Hopkins, op. cit.

<sup>80</sup>Ramsay, op. cit.

<sup>81</sup>CFF #31r *Follin vs. Follin* (1886); FDB J3, p. 60; O3, p. 59; P3, pp. 6 and 349; U3, p. 167; X3, p. 278; J4, p. 532; O4, p. 448; P4, p. 454; R4, p. 26; Land and Personal Property Tax Records for Fairfax County 1871, 1878, 1885 in Fairfax Circuit Court Archives; *Follin vs. Follin*, op. cit.

<sup>82</sup>FWB D2, p. 152.

<sup>83</sup>FDB M5, p. 4.

<sup>84</sup>Fairfax County *Register of Marriages*, p. 12 in Fairfax Circuit Court Archives.

<sup>85</sup>Ramsay, op. cit.; Fairfax Circuit Book in the Fairfax United Methodist Church, Fairfax, Virginia.

<sup>86</sup>John Patrick McDowell, *The Social Gospel in the South; The Woman's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939* (Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University, 1982), pp. 7-12.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 39-42 and 48.

<sup>88</sup>FWB H2, p. 325.

<sup>89</sup>FDB I6, p. 643; Z6, p. 284; A7, p. 86.

<sup>90</sup>FDB K7, p. 446; 5962, p. 392 (condemnation).

<sup>91</sup>FWB 18, p. 148; telephone conversation with Elizabeth Brown, July 27, 1986.

<sup>92</sup>FDB F7, p. 431.

<sup>93</sup>Washington, D.C. Telephone Directories, 1914-1935; City Directories 1909-1943.

<sup>94</sup>Personal Property Tax Record, 1915; telephone conversation with Elizabeth Brown, July 27, 1986.

<sup>95</sup>FDB O7, p. 290; R7, p. 639; T8, p. 192.

<sup>96</sup>FDB J11, p. 9; T11, p. 517; U11, p. 499.

<sup>97</sup>FDB T11, p. 518.

<sup>98</sup>Mrs. Means is known professionally as Caroline F. Ware. Interview with Caroline Ware and Gardiner C. Means at their home February 3, 1985 (hereafter cited as Means-Ware interview).

<sup>99</sup>Caroline Ware speaking before the National Museum of American History and George Mason University Joint Symposium on Eleanor Roosevelt, "A Centennial Celebration," October 19, 1984. Video tape of the symposium is in Center for Society and the Arts, George Mason University.

<sup>100</sup>Gardiner C. Means in *Who's Who* 1974-75, p. 2112; Adolph A. Berle, Jr. and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932); William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 32-35.

<sup>101</sup>Caroline F. Ware, *Greenwich Village 1920-1930: A Comment on American Civilization in the Post War Years* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935).

<sup>102</sup>Carline F. Ware in *Who's Who* 1976-1977, p. 3284; Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1940).

<sup>103</sup>Means-Ware interview; Lois Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974), pp. 231-232; Margaret Mead and Frances Balgley Kaplan, ed., *American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission* (New York: Scribners, 1965), p. 255; Video tape of Symposium on Eleanor Roosevelt, October 19, 1984; telephone conversation with Esther Peterson, July 6, 1986.

<sup>104</sup>Means-Ware interview; conversation between Dorothy Werner, Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, and Caroline Ware, 1980; telephone conversation with Elizabeth Brown, July 27, 1986; FDB Y6, p. 418. The Honesty family contends that Lum Honesty was not a slave, that he was born free, and indeed bought his wife's freedom. Interview with Mrs. Rosalie Honesty, January 3, 1986.

<sup>105</sup>Letter, "What we have done with the farm during our tenancy," Caroline Ware and Gardiner Means to Dorothy Werner, January 26, 1981.

<sup>106</sup>Letter Maida Springer-Kemp to Mary Kate Black, September 7, 1985.

<sup>107</sup>Letter Caroline Ware to Dorothy Werner, January 26, 1981; Fairfax County Board of Supervisors Minutes 1872-1885, vol. 1. pp. 39, 126, 133 and 137; vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>108</sup>Mitchell, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>109</sup>FDB 1950, p. 682.

<sup>110</sup>Letter Caroline Ware to Dorothy Werner, January 26, 1981.

<sup>111</sup>FDB 5438, p. 286.

## Meadowlark Gardens Regional Park History of Ownership

1730 Northern Neck grant to William Gunnell of Stafford County, 966 acres "lying and being in the said county of Stafford on the lower side

of Difficult Run, beginning at a white oak marked WG between two red oaks and a gum." Northern Neck Grant Book C:87. Virginia State Library.

- 1741 William Gunnell conveyed to sons William and Henry 800 acres of the 966 acre tract. Fairfax Deeds A1:26.
- 1760 Will of William Gunnell reaffirmed and bequeathed the same 800 acres to William and Henry, "to be divided equally between them, excepting that the plantation and houses whereon my son Henry now lives is to be the part or portion of the said Henry's land." Fairfax Wills B:218.
- 1792 Will of Henry Gunnell bequeathed to son Thomas Gunnell 204 acres of land previously deeded to him "whereon he now lives." Fairfax Wills F:58. This deed was recorded in Deed Book N which is missing from the Fairfax Archives, but is mentioned in a suit Purdy vs. Emigh and Close in Ejectment, 1853-1856.
- 1801 Thomas Gunnell died; Elizabeth Gunnell, widow, married Robert Gunnell.
- 1808 John and Ann Stanhope conveyed to Robert Gunnell all of Ann's interest in her deceased father, Thomas Gunnell's 204 acres. Fairfax Deeds J2:130.
- 1817 Will of Robert Gunnell bequeathed to Elizabeth Gunnell all of his property, including the Difficult Run tract. Fairfax Wills P:173. Elizabeth Gunnell died in 1827, her property remaining intestate. Will of Elizabeth Gunnell in Fairfax Chancery Suits 37h, Stanhope vs. Stanhope.
- 1838 Nancy Allison, daughter of Ann Stanhope and granddaughter of Elizabeth Gunnell, divided the Stanhope land in Gunnell vs. George W. Hunter, administrator of William Stanhope's estate. The division of the real property was not recorded, but the division of slaves is in Fairfax Chancery Suits 83s, Stanhope vs. Stanhope's administrators.
- 1841 Commissioners of Fairfax County court conveyed to Gilbert Purdy of New York, 133 acres of the Stanhope Division. Purdy was entangled in a land dispute with Thomas Emigh and James T. Close from 1853 until 1856. Although the court found in Purdy's favor, the land in dispute was omitted in a later sale. Fairfax Deeds T3:46 and Chancery Suit Purdy vs. Emigh and Close, 1853-1856.
- 1842 Gordon and Nancy Allison conveyed to Jacob Eckert of New York 104 acres in the Stanhope Division. Fairfax Deeds G3:205
- 1850 Jacob Eckert conveyed to John Turner of New York 104 acres. Fairfax Deeds P3:129.

- 1851 John Turner conveyed to Lewis Johnson 104 acres. Fairfax Deeds P3:349.
- 1854 Gilbert Purdy conveyed to Lewis Johnson and John Money 99 acres. Fairfax Deeds V3:196.
- 1856 Johnson and Money divided the 99 acres with 50 acres to Johnson, and 48 acres to Money. The school house lot, on the dividing line went to both of them. Fairfax Deeds X3:278.
- 1874 Lewis Johnson purchased surrounding tracts of land from Gunnell and Stanhope heirs. By 1879 he had acquired 240 acres. Fairfax Deeds U3:167, J4:532, P4:454, and R4:26.
- 1879 Will of Lewis Johnson bequeathed to his daughter, Mary Rouzee and grandson Joshua Gibson 240 acres. Mary Rouzee to have that part where the house was located and where Johnson lived, and Gibson to have the land and house where the tenant lived. Fairfax Wills D2:152.
- 1890 Mary Rouzee and Joshua Gibson divided the Johnson land with 132 acres to Rouzee and 118 to Gibson. Fairfax Deeds M5:4.
- March, 1901 Will of Mary Rouzee bequeathed her 132 acres to her nephew, Joshua Gibson, for his life only, and to pass after his death to the Woman's Home Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Fairfax Wills H2:325.
- December, 1901 The Woman's Home Mission Society conveyed to Joshua Gibson all their right to the 132 acres in deeds from 1901 to 1908 for a total of \$537.00. Fairfax Deeds I6:643, A7:86, and Z6:282.
- 1908 Joshua Gibson conveyed to C.M. Money 35 acres. Fairfax Deeds Z6:284.
- 1910 Joshua Gibson conveyed to R.W. Kilgour, and Annie and Alice Kilgour 123 acres. Fairfax Deeds F7:431.
- 1911 Gibson conveyed to C.M. Money 39 acres. Fairfax Deeds K7. p. 446. Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority condemnation of 21 acres came from the 1908 and 1911 conveyances Gibson to Money. Fairfax Deeds 5962, p. 392.
- 1921 Alice and Annie Kilgour conveyed to Thomas Jefferson Carr 67 acres. Fairfax Deeds T8:192.
- 1935 Thomas Jefferson Carr conveyed to Caroline Ware Means 67 acres. Fairfax Deeds T11:518.
- 1980 Caroline Ware Means and Gardiner Means conveyed a deed of gift to the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority 50 + acres. Fairfax Deeds 5438:286.

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